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Published by the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute, Government of Orissa,
Bhubaneswar-751003

ADIVASI

It is published twice a year in June and December by the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research & Training Institute, C. R. P. F. Suliya, Unit-VIII, Bhubaneswar-751003. It includes articles and research findings in various Social Sciences, Development Strategies and other related matters emphasising the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities. It also publishes Book Review as and when referred to.

FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Papers in various disciplines, like Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Demography, Human Geography, Museology and Museum methods and Planning with special reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The papers should be type-written in double space on one side of paper. The contributors should submit 2 copies of each paper. They may send their brief bio-data. Each paper should contain one paragraph abstract/summary to be printed at the beginning of the paper. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only 25 off-prints of the paper published are supplied. Two copies of the books may be sent for the purpose of review. The bibliography/references cited should invariably follow the pattern as in *Current Anthropology*, as follows:—

BASCOM, W. R. 1951 Yoruba food. Africa
21.

BOVILL, E.W. 1933. *Ceramics of the Old Sahara*,
London: Oxford University Press.

DOGGETT, H. 1965. "The development of the cultivated sorghums",
in *Essays on crop plant evolution*.

Edited by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, pp. 50—89, Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press.

RATE OF SUBSCRIPTION

Inland :

Single Issue —Rs. 15-00 (Rupees fifteen only)

Double Issue —Rs. 30-00 (Rupees thirty only)
(Annual/Combined)

Abroad :

Single Issue —\$1 (One U.S. Dollar only)

Double Issue —\$2 (Two U. S. Dollars only)
(Annual/Combined)

BACK ISSUES

Back issues are available for sale. The journal is also supplied on exchange basis.

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EDITORIAL

Adivasi, the journal of our Institute which was previously a quarterly one emerges as a half-yearly Publication from the current volume. The restructuring and re-orientation took quite sometime to bring this volume, which is a combined issue for 1994, for circulation. The volume contains 7 papers and 2 Books Reviews.

Professor Behura's paper on Panchayati Raj and Education in the State of Orissa is a very illuminating one which elaborately discusses the educational system in our State. The paper includes historical perspective on Panchayati Raj and Education in Orissa. The existing structure of management and administration of education at various levels have been discussed. The impact of various educational programmes including experiences of successes and failures has been highlighted. There has been quite a good deal of discussion on the aspects of education among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The author makes valuable suggestions towards restructuring and reorganization of the existing management and administrative system of education vis-a-vis the Panchayati Raj System.

The paper on Tribal Women, Environment and Development by Dr. Rath pinpoints the intimate relationship between the forests and the tribal people. She has emphasized the role of tribal women, who primarily depend upon minor forest produce, can be more trusted for the preservation and development of forests. Compared to male folk, it appears that the tribal women can play significant roles in joint forest management intervention.

Shri B. B. Mohanty discusses significantly various aspects of Marriage and Family among the Bondos of Orissa State. The Bondo constitutes one of the primitive tribal groups and the tribal community is only found in Orissa State and no where else in the country. The two social institutions of enormous significance have been analysed by the author.

Dr. P. Venkates Rao's paper on Some Aspects of Development Infrastructure in a Tribal area speaks of the implementation of development programmes in tribal areas and emphatically states that the efficiency of infrastructural services is necessary for tribal development. He states that the V. D. O., previously known as V. L. W. acts as a go between in the development administration. He pleads that the felt-needs of the tribal people, effective delivery system, population participation, etc. should be taken care of while going for around development of tribal people.

Dr. P. K. Mishra's paper on Sanskritization to Politicisation: The case of the Panas in Orissa unravels the status of an erstwhile low untouchable caste of Orissa. Both birth ascriptive ritual status and achieved secular status of the Panas have been analysed. The paper discusses the pre-independence situation and also the post-independence status consideration in the web of socio-economic inequalities. The aspects of politicisation at later stage appears to be very meaningfully analysed.

Mr. Posey's paper on Tribal-non-tribal interaction in Orissa: A Study of Karma Festival in Sambalpur analytically interprets the tribal festival Karma which is primarily a tribal one. The description of the festival has been very vivid and lucid. As discussed by the author the Karma festival is more universal than parochial in its approach. It contributes significantly the tribe/caste integration in our State.

The paper on Social Control, Tradition and Transition in Lanjia Saora Society contributed by Shri S. C. Mohanty analyses the mechanism of social control in the context of tradition and modernity. The Lanjia Saora who constitute a primitive section of the Saora tribal community, although is tradition-bound, have shown aspects of social change under the impact of modernisation and development intervention. Unlike their fore-fathers they are more dynamic and receptive to changing socio-economic conditions.

We shall be happy if the papers cater to the need of its esteemed readers with their varied interests in ethnic groups and several aspects of their society, culture and development.

(K. K. MOHANTI)

Director and Editor

Panchayati Raj and Education in the State of Orissa

N. K. Behura

1. Historical Perspective on Panchayati Raj and Education in Orissa :

The British Parliament ruled over India for about 150 years, and during this period education in India passed through several vicissitudes, but the demand for formal education was very much limited. As the time went by the demand for formal education increased. Education did not spread in response to the demand from the people, but through the endeavour of Missionaries, Social Reformers, Philanthropists and Community Leaders. As elementary education in England had been left to Churches, Voluntary Organizations and Charitable Trusts, in India too, it was left to Missionaries and Private Bodies.

In early decades of the nineteenth century when the East India Company first began to organize a modern system of education for India, the country had already a fairly wide network of indigenous schools, catering to the needs of the local communities. During the company's regime, the indigenous system of education was neglected. The Company restricted its attention to the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. It also attempted to educate the children of some upper class influential Indians and thereby tried to win the confidence of these people.

The renewal of Charter Act, 1813 imposed responsibility on the Company Government for education in India. This formed the turning point in the history of Indian education system as funds were allotted for promotion of education in India in the Annual Budget. The Company Government adopted a new policy of education, which was known as the "Filtration Theory". This concept of education did not cater to mass education. A new chapter in the history of education in India was opened with the appointment of Lord Macaulay as the Law Member of the Governor General's Executive Council on 10th June 1834. He strongly recommended that the aim of educational policy in India should be the spread of western system

of education through the medium of English language. Lord Bentinck, the then Governor General of India, accepted Macaulay's recommendations.

The British territories in India were divided into five Presidencies (Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Punjab and the North-West Frontier) for administrative purposes as well as to expedite the spread of western liberal education. The educational activities of the British were conducted by the Missionaries, Voluntary Agencies, non-officials and officials of the East India Company. But the real pioneers of western liberal education in India were the Christian Missionaries.

The Charter Act of 1813 was renewed in 1833, and according to the contents of this charter, the Missionaries of other countries were permitted to carry out their educational and other activities in India. As a result Missionary Societies expanded their field of operation. It was realised that the Indian people joined the Missionary schools not for the sake of religious instruction but to learn English with a view to securing better employment under the Government.

A Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Wood to survey the whole system of education in India. He recommended for the creation of Departments of Education in each of the five provinces. He also recommended establishment of Universities in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. He mentioned that English language should not substitute the vernacular languages of the country, and should be taught when there was need and demand for it. He maintained that the 'Filtration Theory' had harmed the cause of mass education in India, and thus suggested increase in the number of High Schools, Middle Schools and indigenous Primary Schools, adoption of modern Indian languages as medium of instruction at the secondary stage and establishment of schools for the training of teachers.

On 3rd February 1882 Lord Ripon, the then Governor General of India appointed the first Indian Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hunter to suggest measures for the spread of Primary Education and disengagement of grant-in-aid.

The Commission recommended education of the masses through vernacular languages in such subjects that will be considered appropriate. It also recommended extension of Primary Education to backward districts. It further recommended that management of Primary Education be entrusted to Local Bodies, namely, District and Municipal Boards.

Lord Ripon passed the Local Self-Government Act in 1882. As a result, School Districts were formed on the basis of the area of Municipal or rural unit of Local Self-Government and establishment of schools was placed under the jurisdiction of respective districts. District and Municipal Boards were directed to allocate specific funds for the promotion of Primary Schools. Gradually, Government partially withdrew from Secondary Education and permitted Private Organizations to establish Secondary Schools and receive grant-in-aid for it. However, Government established Model High Schools in each district.

Lord Curzon, a former Viceroy of British India, published his educational policy on March 11, 1904. Among other things the policy emphasized promotion of vernacular languages, technical and women's education. It suggested establishment of model schools for girls, and opined that Primary Education was the instruction of the masses. Government of India fully accepted the proposition that active expansion of Primary Education was one of the most important duties of the State.

In 1929, Hofig Committee was appointed to survey the growth of education in British India. The Committee recommended in its report that more attention be paid to mass education in India. It suggested several measures for consolidation and improvement of Primary Education. It recommended that the duration of Elementary Education be restricted to 4 years; school timing and vacations be adjusted to seasonal and local requirements and school activities be properly supervised by inspecting Personnel.

The Provincial Autonomy Act, 1935 came into operation and Congress Ministry came to power

in seven provinces out of eleven, and in 1937 Mahatma Gandhi infused a new life to the nation by giving expression to his ideas about the problem of education in India. He maintained that education should be given through a 'profit-yielding vocation', so that it could become self-supporting. The All India Educational Conference held at Wardha in October, 1937 accepted Gandhi's ideas and resolved that free and compulsory education be given to all children of 7 years and above on a nationwide scale. This education be related to manual and productive work, and mother tongue should be the medium of instruction.

In 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of John Sargent, the then educational advisor to the Government of India to prepare a scheme for post-war educational reconstruction. He recommended pre-primer and nursery education along side free and compulsory primary education for children in the age-group from 5-11 years.

Elementary Education in Orissa before Independence.

For many years, during the colonial rule the Oriyas pressed their legitimate demand for the amalgamation of all the Oriya speaking tracts on the ground of common ethnicity, language and culture. As a result of long sustained movement the Government of India brought in all the scattered Oriya population under one administrative unit. On 1st April 1936, Orissa became a separate State as per the Government of India Act, 1935. As Orissa became a State with areas carved out of Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency, the system of Elementary Education was not uniform all over the State. In South Orissa, that is, in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput, the educational pattern prevalent in Madras Presidency was followed, while in North Orissa the practices followed in Bihar were very much in operation.

However, Sir William Hunter has given a graphic picture of the State of education prevailing in the Oriya speaking region during the first half century of the British rule. Government, not less than the missionaries, long found itself baffled by the obstinate orthodoxy of Orissa. Until 1936 no school worthy of the name existed except in the two or three little bright spots within the circle of missionary influence. Throughout the length and

breadth of the new province, with its population of two and a half million, all was darkness and superstition. Here and there, a Brahmin Pundit taught a few boys Sanskrit in a Veyanda of some rich man's house, and larger villages, with some enlightened persons, had a sort of hedge school, where a handful of boys squatted with the teacher on the ground, forming the alphabet in the dust, and repeating the multiplication table in a perrot like sing song manner. Any one who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed for a man of letters (Samanaray, 1967: 47).

Though the British occupied Orissa in 1803, the spread of liberal education in this part of the country did not make much headway during the first half of the 19th century. When the British first acquired the province there was scarcely a single native of Orissa in Government service.

Since administratively Orissa was part of Bengal, Bihar, Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces there were several constraints in the growth of education. For the first time, demand for compulsory Primary Education in Orissa began after the introduction of Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act, 1919 and Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920. The selection of places for establishment of schools for imparting Elementary Education were made on the basis of the proportion of children collected by a cluster of villages for schooling. Free Elementary Education commenced from 1925.

The District and Local Boards were constituted in 1885 in accordance with the provisions of Local Self-Government Act, 1885. The Local Boards exercised powers as were delegated to them by the concerned District Board. Each of these Boards was being administered by a body of elected representatives headed by a Chairman. There were six District Boards in Orissa as there were six districts before independence. Each Subdivision had a Local Board. These Boards looked after public utility services, such as, rural roads, ferries, weekly markets, health programmes, elementary and secondary level of education among other things. The District and Local Boards continued till the last day of 1953. Then the State Government took over the administration of the Boards from the 1st January 1954.

Elementary education though was exclusively being managed by the Local Self-Government Agencies, the State Education Department framed the curriculum with the help of educational

experts in order to maintain a uniform standard. Each District Board had an Education Committee, which included the Chairman and some elected members. This Committee had the powers to approve text books, determine school timing, prepare the vacation list, select teachers for recruitment and supervise school activities. District Boards not only recruited teachers, but also transferred teachers from one school to other schools located within their jurisdiction.

The State Education Department and the inspecting staff oversaw the educational programmes and ensured academic standard. The inspecting staff of the State Government carried out periodic inspection of schools so as to ensure their proper functioning. In 1936, after the formation of the State of Orissa, the first Director of Public Instruction (D.P.I.) was appointed. Till independence there were two Inspectors of Schools, one for the North Orissa and the other for the South Orissa. There were District and Deputy Inspectors of Schools under them. After independence, with the steady increase of the number of Primary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools, for effective inspection, the number of Educational Circles in the State increased, and as a consequence the number of District, Deputy and Sub-Inspectors of Schools accordingly increased.

All the teachers, appointed then for Primary Schools were not trained. Some of them were trained in Elementary Training Schools of the State. Before independence, there were eleven Elementary Training Schools. Most of the Elementary Training Schools were under the Government Administration, but a few of them were under Private Management. Each Private Elementary Training School was managed by a President and a Secretary.

2. Present Structure of Management and Administration:

The portfolio of education in the State of Orissa has been divided into two parts: THE DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (College and University level education) and THE DEPARTMENT OF SCHOOL AND MASS EDUCATION. The Department of Higher Education and Youth Services is under the control of a Cabinet Minister, and the Department of School and Mass Education is under the Control of a Minister of State.

A. (i) Secretariat of Higher Education and Youth Services Functionaries :

Secretary and Commissioner

Additional Secretary

Joint Secretaries

.. Financial Adviser

Deputy Secretaries

.. Assistant Financial Adviser

Under-Secretaries and other supporting staff

Functions—Policy formulation, budget provision of funds, implementation of programmes and overall control.

(ii) Directorate of Higher Education and Youth Services :

Director of Higher Education and Youth Services

Additional Director

Joint Director

.. Accounts Officer

Deputy Directors

.. Assistant Accounts Officer

Administrative Officer

Assistant Administrative Officer

Supporting administrative staff

Functions—Director, control of college education (Government, aided and private colleges). Establishment of Government college teachers and those private college teachers who are covered under 'direct payment' scheme of the State Government. Periodic inspection of colleges to ensure required academic standard, grant of recognition and subject affiliation. Selection and recruitment of teachers, their service conditions, promotion and transfer are all dealt with. Co-ordination between all the general Universities and the State Government, and also co-ordination between the Council of Higher Secondary Education and the State Government.

B. (i) Secretariat of School and Mass Education Functionaries :

Secretary and Commissioner

Additional Secretary

Joint Secretaries

.. Financial Adviser

Deputy Secretaries

.. Assistant Financial Adviser

Under-Secretaries and other supporting staff

Functions—Policy formulation, budget provision of funds, implementation of programmes and overall control.

(ii) Directorate of Secondary Education :

Directorate Functionaries

Field Functionaries

(General) Director of Secondary Education

.. 18 Inspectors of Schools (14 Inspectors, H. B. T. W.).

Joint Director

Deputy Directors

Administrative Officer

Accounts Officer

Assistant Accounts Officer (Vocational)

.. 13 Additional Inspectors (Vocational)
39 Assistant Inspectors (Vocational)

Functions—The Directorate looks after selection, recruitment and transfer of school teachers, their service conditions and promotion, recognition of new schools, and allocation and disbursement of funds. Inspectors inspect and ensure proper functioning of schools and disburse salary.

(iii) Directorate of Elementary Education :

<i>Directorate Functionaries</i>	<i>Field Functionaries</i>
Director of Elementary Education	64 District Inspectors (Edn.) + 9 District Inspectors (H. & T. W.).
Joint Directors	
Deputy Directors	56 Deputy Inspectors (Edn.) + 5 Deputy Inspectors (H. & T. W.).
Accounts Officer	
Administrative Officer	1,001 Sub-Inspectors (Edn.) + 25 Sub-Inspectors (H. & T. W.).

Functions—The Directorate looks after selection, recruitment and promotion of Elementary (UGME and Primary) School teachers, their service conditions and transfer, if any. It accords recognition to schools and allocates funds for various purposes. District Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors regularly inspect schools, meet the requirements of schools and ensure proper functioning of schools. Ensure efficient and regular instruction as well as proper evaluation and conduct of fair examination.

(iv) Directorate of Adult Education :

<i>Directorate Functionaries</i>	<i>Field Functionaries</i>
Director of Mass Education	15 Co-ordinators (Supervision of Adult Education Centres).
Deputy Directors	
Accounts Officer	128 Facilitators (Teach and manage Adult Education Centres). Besides there are praks and Animators.
Administrative Officer	

Functions—The Directorate functions with the avowed objective of bringing about speedy total literacy in the State through Adult Education, Continuing Education, Non-formal Education and by co-ordinating the programmes and activities of the National Literacy Mission in the State.

(v) Directorate of Teachers Education and State Council for Educational Research and Training :

<i>Directorate Functionaries</i>	<i>Training Institutions</i>
Director, SCERT	4 Training Colleges
Professor of Education	13 District Institute of Education and Training.
Readers in Education	55 Secondary Training Schools
Lecturers in Education	
Accounts Officer	
Administrative Officer	

Functions—The Directorate looks after the programmes of Teachers' Education (both School and College Teachers), carries out innovative research to increase efficiency in teaching and learning, prepare guidelines for preparation of up-to-date text books, check out programmes for refresher course, prepare schemes and carry out such other activities as are assigned by the Government.

A. Development of Primary and Middle School Education in Orissa since Independence :

The opening scene of educational development in Orissa after independence presented a dismal picture. The entire State of Orissa had only 6,814 Primary Schools (Class I-V), with an enrolment of 2.55 lakhs, and 295 M. E. Schools with an enrolment of 0.32 lakhs (in 1947-48). In 1988-89 the number of Primary Schools has risen to 39,293 with an enrolment of 35.02 lakhs children in the age-group of 6-11 years, and the number of M. E. Schools during the corresponding period has risen to 9,125 with an enrolment of 9.70 lakhs students.

Primary Education is imparted in five classes, i. e., from Class I to V in the State. Out of the 39,293 Primary Schools, 1,184 Schools are called Sevashrams which are managed by the Department of Harijan and Tribal Welfare and the remaining 38,109 Schools are run by the Department of School and Mass Education. Efforts have been made to provide Primary Education facilities at the door-step of children in order to ensure their access and participation in the education process. Yet 10,812 habitations remain unserved by Primary Schools within easy walking distance of one Km. in 1990-91. Likewise 19,434 habitations remain unserved by M. E. Schools within a distance of 3 Kms.

The total enrolment in the Primary School/Section, in the age-group from 6-11 years during 1990-91 is as follows :—

Primary (I—V Classes) General :

Boys	..	15.88 lakh
Girls	..	11.28 lakh
Total	..	27.16 lakh

M. E. :

Boys	..	8.28 lakh
Girls	..	3.57 lakh
Total	..	9.85 lakh

Primary (S. C.) :

Boys	..	3.20 lakh
Girls	..	2.68 lakh
Total	..	5.88 lakh

M. E. (S. C.) :

Boys	..	0.85 lakh
Girls	..	0.60 lakh
Total	..	1.45 lakh

Primary (S. T.) :

Boys	..	4.22 lakh
Girls	..	2.46 lakh
Total	..	6.68 lakh

M.E. (S. T.) :

Boys	..	0.87 lakh
Girls	..	0.44 lakh
Total	..	1.31 lakh

Although the gross enrolment ratio to the total child population in the age-group of 6-11 has been 99.92 per cent, the net enrolment ratio is 74 per cent, 25 per cent children of over-age and under-age are on the rolls in Primary Schools.

The drop-out rate at the end of Class-V and Class-VIII are as follows :—

Drop-out :

Classes I—V	Orissa	India
General	48%	48%
S. C.	56%	..
S. T.	72%	..
Classes VI —VIII	Orissa	India
General	70%	69%
S. C.	81%	..
S. T.	89%	..

Total number of Primary Schools by 1988-89 :

	39,293
Buildingless Primary Schools	.. 8,117
Buildingless U. G. M. E.	.. 3,139
Single Room Schools	.. 2,031
Single Teacher Schools	.. 2,652
Lower Primary Schools (I—III)	.. 5,865
Middle Schools (V—VII)	.. 9,125

Elementary Schools managed by Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department :

Sevashrams (Primary Schools)	1,032
Residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools)	106
Ashram (Residential) Schools from Class I to VII	101
For Boys	73
For Girls	28

Number of Teachers in Elementary Schools (1990-91) :

Primary School Teachers	104,940
Middle School Teachers	37,484

Teacher-Student Ratio 1990-91 :

	Orissa	India
Primary	1:38	1:42
Middle	1:26	1:37

B. Non-Formal Education

Until recently the non-formal Education Centres were being used as Cheaper model Primary Schools in the State. These centres were being provided to the smaller habitations where a regular Primary School was not considered viable from the stand point of population. But at the advent of opening of more Primary Schools in all the habitations having a population of 300 in non-tribal areas and 200 in tribal areas, non-formal centres are now to serve the purpose for which they are provided. Hence forward these Centres are to be run mainly for the economically backward children, in the age-group of 6—14, and those who are either drop-outs or never enrolled in schools, or who cannot

avail of full time education as working children.

18,753 non-formal centres are now functioning as Chatsali imparting education for classes I—V, and out of this 12,503 centres are being run by the State Government and the rest by Voluntary Agencies. Apart from this 888 non-formal centres are functioning as Madhyamik Chatsali, imparting education for classes VI-VII under the administration of the State Government. Each Centre is managed by a Facilitator appointed from the locality. There are 15 Co-ordinators and 128 Junior Co-ordinators to supervise the programme.

Enrolment of students at non-formal centres for Primary (I—V) and Upper Primary (VI-VII) Education in 1990-91 is as follows—

Chatsali (I—V) or Primary (1)	6—11 age-group (2)	Boys (3)	Girls (4)	Total (5)
	Government	2.20 lakh	1.58 lakh	3.78 lakh
	Voluntary Agencies	0.43 lakh	0.32 lakh	0.75 lakh
Madhyamik Chatsali (VI-VII)				
Upper Primary	11—14 age-group	4,163 Nos.	1,788 Nos.	4,951 Nos.

C. Adult Education

The history of adult education in Orissa dates back to 1949. A separate directorate for Adult Education was created in 1968, the year National Literacy Mission was launched (May, 1988). Adult Education improves literacy position and functions as an alternative mechanism to reduce illiteracy. In recognition of its vital role, adult education for people in the age-group of 15—35 years was included as part of the Minimum Needs Programme, launched since 1978. The programme was intended to empower the illiterate to participate in the massive development programmes of the country.

To combat illiteracy the National Literacy Mission has been launched and adult education programmes are being implemented. There are certain constraints which hinder constant evaluation and monitoring of adult education programmes to increase efficiency. The N. L. M. strategy though emphasizes the importance of concurrent evaluation for remedial action, it is given lukewarm treatment.

Orissa is a relatively backward state of India with a population of 31.66 millions as per 1991 census. Literacy rate is 49.09 per cent against the national rate of 52.21, the male and female literacy rates in the State are 63.09 and 34.68 per cent respectively against the national rates of 64.13 for males and 39.29 for females. The difference between urban and rural literacy is also high. The rate of urban literacy is 71.59 per cent whereas it is only 45.46 per cent for rural areas. The literacy rate among the weaker sections is lower than the state average. The literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes is 36.78 and among the Scheduled Tribes it is 22.31.

In the State of Orissa 40 per cent of the area is covered by Tribal Sub-Plan and 38 per cent of people belong to S. C. and S. T. communities. The total illiterate population of the state in 1991 is 136.84 lakh (persons those who are 7 years and above) out of the total population of 316.60 lakh. Now the population in the age-group of 9-45, which is the target group for eradication of illiteracy, constitutes 76.5 per cent of the total population.

Total literacy campaign has been taken up in 14 districts, and in three districts post literacy campaign has been commenced. Total literacy campaign is continuing currently in the district of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Angul, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Nawapara, Kalahandi and Malkangiri. Post-Literacy campaign is continuing in Sundergarh and Ganjam. In Rourkela a special project is in operation to eradicate illiteracy. Preliminary work of TLC has started in Koraput and Gajapati districts.

It is expected that under TLC programme 45-25 lakh of illiterates will be made literate out of the 104 lakh of total illiterate population in the age-group of 9-45 years. There are 1714 Jana Shikshan Nilayams operating in the state, out

of which 1110 are funded by the Government of India and the rest are funded by the State Government. The JSN is envisaged as a strategy to cater to the needs of the post-literacy and continuing education of neo-literates. The state may need 6000 JSNs to cater to 5263 Gram Panchayats and urban areas of the State. The whole programme of AEP and TLC are being implemented under the State Literacy Mission Authority (SLMA).

SLMA (Headed by the Chief Minister of the State)

Minister of State for Mass Education

Secretary and Commissioner, School and Mass Education

Additional Secretary	Director, Mass Education.	District Collectors	NGOS TLC programmes
Deputy Secretaries	District Project Officers, Adult Education	Zilla Shikshakarat Samiti	
Under-Secretaries	(30: one in each district).	Jana Shikshan Nilayams	

The strategy for Adult Education Programme follows an area based approach in the State of Orissa. Originally 70 Blocks in some of these district, out of the total of 314, had been identified for achievement of full Literacy by 1990, and accordingly action Plans were prepared and TLC Programmes carried out.

The erstwhile adult education Projects, already in operation, at the time of introduction of TLC under NLM were brought under the coverage of NLM. This was necessitated by the availability of infrastructural facilities, and a favourable social climate in the village to expedite the Programme.

The DAE officials are conducting regular inspection of the programme. Apart from this officers from the Directorate also go out for field supervision. D.A.E. officials attend the D'L.M. meeting to monitor the programme and sort out problems. The D'A.E. officials try to improve performance of the centres through administrative measures.

Co-ordination of A.E. programmes with other Agencies of Development at the ground level is poor. This is due partly to the fact that the A.E. worker is a part-time employee with low qualification compared to functionaries of other departments and partly due to the non-recognition of the crucial role of A.E. programme by other

Agencies. The functionary of the A. E. centre either due to his/ her disinterest or inability is unable to bring other agencies of development at the ground level on the platform of A.E. centre.

The evaluation of learning outcomes is usually summative in nature, conducted at the end of the programme, although the guidelines specify for evaluation at the end of four months. The instructors are usually drawn from the local communities. The educational qualification in respect of a large number of instructors is relaxed because candidates having the requisite qualification are not locally available particularly in the interior areas and the problem is more acute in case of women and tribal areas. None of the instructors and *preraks* has received any pre-service-training. However, about two thirds of instructors have undergone inservice training in the State.

The present system of training A.E.P. consists of a two step flow; the first step comprises a training package for Master Trainers, who, in turn, train the instructors and *preraks* in the second step. One drawback in this two step of flow of training is the loss of training input in the transmission process. The method of training in each step has been designed to be participatory, but in reality in the second step it is hardly participatory.

The S.R.C. has done commendable work in providing training and technical resource support to A.E.P.; it has brought out valuable reading materials for learners, training aids/documents, posters/pamphlets/slides for generating quick awareness among the people. The pedagogical inputs/components in the learning materials, as envisaged by the N.L.M., should be enriched further.

In the teaching learning process, literacy (in the sense of the J.R.'s) assumes primacy to the neglect of functionality and general awareness. The learners hardly develop along the dimensions of functionality and general awareness. Moreover the instructors are neither trained nor equipped with the requisite skills to impart functionality to adult learners. The N. L. M. also does not provide any inbuilt support in this regard. Functionaries of other Agencies of Development seldom visit the A.E. centres to provide functional knowledge. As a result, there is no integration between adult literacy and vocational inputs.

The drop-out-rate is high for various reasons. In certain rural and tribal areas there is a pattern of seasonal migration among the local people for stark economic factors. Enrolment of S.C. and S.T. learners in the programme during 1988-89 was 35.1 per cent of the total learners enrolled, although they constitute the majority among the illiterates. However, the ratio of enrolment of women learners in the programme than men was marginally better, that is 51.9 per cent during 1988-89.

The involvement of the Panchayat is partial. The Sasapanchayats are concerned only with the selection of instructors and *preraks* or A.E. centres and J.S.s, as well as in the selection of places for AE centres and J.E.N.s. The Village Education Committees are not active as many of them are ignorant about their role in A.E.P.

The centres managed by the Nehru Yuvek Kendra (NYK) and Voluntary Agencies (VA) are able to use the support and services of the local primators operating in the area better, who, in turn, evince keen interest in the smooth operation of the AEP. The NYKs use the services of the National Service Volunteers (NSV) in activating A.E. centres. However, this advantage is not available for other organizations like Rural Literacy Functional Programme (RLFP) and State Adult Education Programme (SAEP).

The Mahila Mandals (MM) and Youth Clubs (YC) are neither formally nor informally associated with the Village Education Committee (VEC) and the management of the AE centres in many places. The experience of the NYK managed centres succinctly highlights the important role these organizations of the people can in motivating the learners and in fulfilling the objectives of NLM. An evaluative study, conducted by a leading NGO (CYSD, 1989) points out that about fourteen per cent of the ex-learners appear to be in the process of rapidly relapsing into illiteracy and merge in the domain of illiterates, unless post-literacy programmes are launched for them soon.

The involvement of the neo-literates, especially women in the JSN Programme is found to be marginal. The benefits of JSNs are confined to the villages in which they are located. And non-availability of the minimum facilities is a factor for which JSNs fail to attract the neo-literates.

Suggestions:

1. The wider perspective of the NLM is being lost in some cases as the untrained *Preraks* instructors are resorting to traditional methods of instruction to the learners. It is impossible for them to incorporate the new ideas and inputs which they may pick up during a subsequent training. Therefore, no *Prerak*/Instructor be appointed without prior orientation and regular training.
2. Short-term orientation training workshops need be offered by the SRC for functionaries of other development agencies closely associated with AEP, so that there will be co-ordination and integration in their approaches.
3. The norm for assigning the number of centres to every *Prerak* need be modified. The density of population and the inter centre distance should be kept in mind while fixing the norms for the number of centres under a *Prerak*. The number of centres under a *Prerak* in rural and tribal areas be reduced in order to increase efficiency.
4. The Village Education Committees be reactivated. It should not be a separate Committee from the Village Development Committees. There should be sufficient number of women members and representatives of weaker sections on the Committees. The members of VECs be given some sort of training-cum-orientation.

5. Supervision of the AE centres should be made a joint responsibility of the VEC and the Prerak.

6. The District Literacy Mission should effectively co-ordinate between the Voluntary Agencies (VA), Rural Functional Literacy Programme (RFLP), State Adult Education Programme (SAEP) and Nehru Yuvak Kendra (NYK) to realise the goals of NLM.

7. The State Government should evolve viable mechanisms of linking the programmes with vocational training and skill development programmes of different departments and agencies, such as, Panchayat Industries, DRDA, TRYSEM, etc., and the AEP should incorporate the functional component into the Scheme itself.

D. Child Care Education

Development programmes that are being implemented to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life do not necessarily benefit children directly or improve the environment in which they live and grow. Efforts are being made by the Government to provide health services, better sanitation, nutrition and basic education to children through a system of infrastructure. Such services, if properly delivered, will serve as entry points for improving the quality of life of children and future generations.

Children are innocent, helpless and dependent. Constantly countless children are confronted with problems of growth, development health and hygiene, and are subjected to all sorts of cruelty and exploitation. It is needless to emphasize that they are being crushed under the scourge of poverty, economic crisis, lack of housing, hunger, diseases, illiteracy and unhealthy environment.

A majority of India's children live in impoverished economic, social and environmental conditions which hinder their physical and mental development. In response to the basic needs of this vast and vulnerable section of society, the Government of India introduced on October, 2, 1975 the ICDS scheme, which is a comprehensive plan to increase child survival rates among the poorest and enhance the health, nutrition and learning opportunities of pre-school children and their mothers. Thus, the programme seeks to provide all basic essential services to children and mothers in an integrated manner right in their villages or wards.

The UNICEF, which aids the ICDS programme has also sponsored experimental projects on Early Childhood Education (ECE) through the SCERT. As a result of this the SCERT, Orissa is implementing projects on ECE by opening pre-school centres in tribal dominated Blocks, by developing pre-school curriculum, providing training to the pre-school teachers of these centres, orienting supervising personnel and by developing instructional materials for pre-school teaching.

All categories of ICDS workers are oriented to understand the basic principles of growth and development of children, basic needs of children, need and importance of pre-school education. The Child Development Project Officers (CDPOs) should guide Supervisors and Anganwadi Workers (AWWs) in organising pre-school activities and developing suitable educational aids, and guide supervisors and AWWs in organising educational programmes for parents and the community on various aspects of child development and child care education.

The training input of Supervisors and Anganwadi Workers include knowledge about the principles of child growth and development genetic and environmental factors affecting development, stages and milestones of development, importance of early childhood years for later development, needs of children at different stages; need, importance and curricula of pre-school and early child care education; influence and importance of family, home and environment on the child during the formative years, and precise knowledge about different models of pre-school education, e. g., Kindergarten, Montessori Balwadi, Nursery, Vikaswadi, pre-basic and Anganwadi. Comprehensive knowledge is given about the functional pre-requisites of an Anganwadi centre for pre-school and early child care education as well as about the need and importance of play, health care services and provision of supplementary nutrition for development of children. Over and above this, the non-formal pre-school and early child care education includes health care education for all women in the age-group of 15-45 years. The programme has been conceptualised as an integrated development of the community, because it aims at enhancing the capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child.

Pre-school education at the Anganwadi aims at the total development of the child, physical, psychological, social, cultural, including language and intelligence. It encompasses love, affection and security. Every child is given equal treatment, similar recognition, encouragement and praise. Scope for entertainment and innovative plays are given to all children. Children steadily develop a sense of responsibility and learn how to take care of health and hygiene.

It has been found that children in a majority of cases, are either not willing to attend primary schools or they are not sent to school by their parents for several reasons. One major reason is that the child is completely accustomed and conditioned to home environment and reacts sharply to an alien environment. Hence pre-schooling helps to prepare the child for the entire formal education that follows after the age of six. Pre-school programmes of ICDS scheme also provides early child care education to the community.

The need for pre-school education is particularly important in Orissa mainly due to the presence of a large proportion of children who hail from the socio-economically dis-advantaged strata. The Fifth Educational Survey of Orissa (1987-88) estimated the total child population in

the age-group of 4-6 years as 12.80 lakh which constitutes nearly 15 per cent of total child population of the State. There were a total of 4911 pre-primary educational centres (Anganwadis/Balwadis) in both rural and urban areas of the state by the end of Fifth Educational Survey. By 1987-88, a total of 2,60,483 children had enrolled in various Balwadis/Anganwadis of the state and 2,18,821 attended the pre-school programme. Thus 84.0 per cent of children in the age-group of 3-6 years had enrolled as per the ICDS evaluation report of the Department of Panchayitiraj, Government of Orissa, (1989).

3. Experiences and impact of various Educational Programmes :

The country has witnessed introduction of several educational programmes since independence. Those programmes, introduced at different levels of the education system, have no doubt made some positive impact. But they have not contributed to the growth of healthy, prosperous and dynamic society. One of the major reasons for this dismal position is that the rapid population explosion has eluded all planning. The literacy rate has risen almost three fold since 1951, but still 47.81 per cent of people aged seven years and above are illiterate by 1991.

Literacy-rates of India

Year	Persons	Male	Female
1951	18.33	27.16	8.86
1961	28.31	40.40	16.34
1971	34.45	45.96	21.97
1981	43.67	50.50	29.85
1991	52.19	64.20	39.19

Note—1. Literacy-rate, 1951, 1961 and 1971 relate to population aged 5 years and above. The rates for the years 1981 and 1991 relate to the population aged 7 years and above.

2. The 1981 rates exclude Assam. The 1991 Census rates exclude Assam and Jammu & Kashmir.

Source : Census of India, 1991—Paper 2 of 1992 (P. 51)

Several Education Commissions had been set up by the Union Government to examine and suggest systems of education, which, while enabling the country to reduce its problems, will enable the country to leap forward from strength to strength. The task was herculean and knotty for every Commission as the country is typified by social economic and cultural diver-

sities and contrasts on the one hand and prevalence of harrowing indigence, appalling ignorance and burgeoning population on the other. It was indeed an enormous task for every Commission to formulate a system of education which would be in consonance with the required pace and scale of the educational needs of the country which foreshows an amazing

variety in cultures, languages, religions, ethnicities, geographical and regional variations. Nevertheless, each Commission made some commendable suggestions; but lack of steady and unflinching political will and lack of discipline in public life has undermined the growth of a system of education compatible with the vital interest of the country. Besides, the hang over of feudal and colonial temperaments among the people, in general, has not proved to be congenial for generation of an appropriate system of education. The situation has been further worsened by the emergence of unsavoury party politics which has penetrated into every walk of life.

Formal education instils a sense of false vanity into the minds of many educated people. One who receives whatever formal education in Schools, Colleges, Institutes, Universities etc. primarily hankers after salaried jobs, in any organized sector, so as to ensure to himself/herself an easy, cosy, assured and protected way of life. Education in India, by and large, does not inculcate a sense of self reliance. This may not be true of those who have a legacy of trade and commerce or those who are steeped in commercial tradition. India has been pursuing western liberal education to keep pace with international scientific and technological scenario without any consideration for its glorious heritage, culture, human potential and peculiar socio-economic needs. Parents in India educate their children/wards with colonial temperament and motive. They only expect that their children through education will earn the basic eligibility for various jobs in government and private organisations. They are not very much concerned whether their children really develop inherent potentialities, through education, to become genuine assets or not.

Educants come to educational institutions with a view to acquiring certificates, diplomas and degrees which are the means for securing salaried jobs. The system of education prevalent in the country is not manual labour friendly. It infuses a sense of conceit into the minds of educated ones, who feel alienated from the uneducated. It is common place knowledge that several educated persons get alienated even from their natal family, kins, villages, communities and cultures. This is not only true of urbanites and peasants in India, but it also holds good even for tribal people. Education creates a schism between the educated and the uneducated.

With the passage of time there is a steady decline of the quality and standard of education. There is a general decline in the standard of teaching and evaluation of the students despite constant effort to improve the methods of both teaching and evaluation. Some of the students are genuinely serious about learning as some teachers are sincere about their profession, but when one surveys the total academic scenario he finds to his utter dismay and chagrin large scale insincerity, manipulation, deceit, skepticism and fraud. The present system of education, therefore, does not make everyone an asset, and many in fact, become liabilities for the country. Hence, the number of educated unemployed is getting inflated from year to year. Only a few educated ones become self-reliant and use their knowledge and skill to participate in the economic growth of the country.

Post-Independence party-politics, it is alleged has been responsible for the setbacks in the system of education. Students, teachers, educational administrators, educational institutions, academic bodies, and supporting academic forums have all come under the ambit of party-politics. There is no gainsaying that in a democratic set-up all matters of a nation will remain within the frame-work and orbit of the political system; but what is painful is that party politics has penetrated into all aspects of the educational system, that is, students, teachers, educational administrators, day-to-day educational administration and technical business of academic bodies. The entire system has been politicised. It is indeed deplorable that students unions and pedagogic associations function on party lines.

This is no proper standardization of schools, mode of instruction, method of evaluation at the Elementary stage. For Elementary and Secondary Education there are large number of schools run by the Education Department of the State, some schools run by the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department for S. C. and S. T. students, some schools run by the Government of India and some schools run by a host of Private Organisations. The State Government Schools are academically affiliated to the State Secondary Board of Education, Government of India Schools and some schools run by certain Private Organisations are affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Examination, and some other schools are affiliated to I. C. S. E. (Indian Certificate of School Education).

There is no uniformity in their syllabi and method of evaluation of students. For Pre-Primary, Lower Primary and Upper Primary Education there are varieties of schools run by Government, Semi-Government and Private Organisations. In the Primary Schools run by the State Government, the medium of instruction and examinations is Oriya, some schools run by Government of India and some Private Organisations the medium of instruction and examination is Hindi, and in some elite schools, run by some Private Organisations, the medium of instruction and examination is English. It has become a craze now among most of the parents, including people from low income group, to educate their children in English medium schools. It is believed that students of English medium schools turn out to be more smart with a wide range of knowledge, and most of them do well in their adult life or fare well in the job market. It is also realised that in such schools the courses are very heavy, and parents of students have to do a lot of home work to

make up the deficiency of their children. However, it is an irony that demagogues are specimens of contradictions. They advise the masses to send their children to the schools run by the State Government, but they themselves prefer English medium schools for their own children.

The system of education would have performed well had it been kept free from the influence of party politics. In some backward districts of Orissa several Primary Schools go without teachers for a long time. These are scores of Primary Schools where teachers are rarely present. Teachers afford to neglect their duties for lack of proper supervision and innocuous treatment. Many things can be said, but it is not desirable here to take up the issue. However, notwithstanding the shortcomings education in general has made noticeable progress. The percentage of literacy in the State has been constantly rising since 1951, which is evident from the following table :

Percentage of Literacy in Orissa

Year	Total	Male	Female
1951	14.15	24.25	4.52
1961	21.66	34.7	8.6
1971	26.18	38.3	13.9
1981	40.90	47.1	21.2
1991	48.55	52.5	29.1

Note : 1951, 1961, and 1971 figures include population in the age-group of 0—4; and 1981, and 1991 figures exclude population in the age-group of 0—6.

Similarly enrolment at the primary stage (Class-I—V) has risen from 2.55 lakh (2.46 lakh boys and 0.09 lakh girls) in 1947-48 to 27.16 lakh (15.88 lakh boys and 11.28 lakh girls) in 1990-91. The bulk of enrolment at M. E. stage (class-VI—VIII) was 0.32 lakh (0.30 lakh boys and 0.02 lakh girls) in 1947-48, and in 1990-91 it has risen to 9.85 lakh (6.28 lakh boys and 3.57 lakh girls). The number of teachers at the primary stage has risen to 104,940 in 1990-91 from 16,520 in 1947-48. Likewise, the number of teachers at the M. E. stage has risen to 37,484 in 1990-91 from 1,483 in 1947-48. The number of Primary Schools (Class I—V) has gone up to 39,293 in 1988-89 from 6,814 in 1947-48. The drop out rate at the primary stage (Class I—V) in the state is 46 per cent in 1990-91 as against the national average of 48 per cent. But the

drop out rate at M. E. stage is 70 per cent in the state during 1990-91 as against the national average of 68 per cent.

Nevertheless, despite the introduction of Adult Education Programme, Non-Formal Education and TLC programmes, in addition to the formal educational programmes, the number of illiterate population in the State by 1991 is 136.84 lakh (50.63 lakh male and 86.21 lakh female) out of the total population of 316.60 lakh. By and large the system of education has not fared well, because of several factors. Primarily, the system is alien in nature. There are some other factors too, namely, (i) Poverty of the masses, (ii) participation of children (low income group) in household economic activities or domestic chores, (iii) formal and strange atmo-

phere and culture of schools, (iv) discordant curricula and (v) inappropriate system of education.

The delivery mechanism in the education system is weak, inefficient and lacks co-ordination. This is so because there is no accountability in the system. In several instances accountability is waived by the political system. The situation is further worsened by favouritism and nepotism. However, the system of education is not a complete fiasco. Poverty is

considered to be the major constraint. Among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lack of motivation is not the major cause, rather poverty appears to be the strongest hindering factor. With the provision of residential schools, school garments, reading and writing materials, enrolment position of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students at Primary and M. E. stages of education has improved. The figures of enrolment in respect S. C. and S. T. students for 1990-91, which are furnished below, will speak for themselves:

Primary		Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
1990-91	Total	5.88 lakh	6.68 lakh
	Boys	3.30 lakh	4.22 lakh
	Girls	0.60 lakh	0.44 lakh
M. E.			
1990-91	Total	1.46 lakh	1.31 lakh
	Boys	0.86 lakh	0.87 lakh
	Girls	0.60 lakh	0.44 lakh

The State Government have taken steps during the post-independence period for the educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Residential High Schools, Ashram Schools (residential M. E. Schools), Kanyashrams (residential M. E. Schools for girls), Residential Sevashrams (residential Primary Schools), Sevashrams (non residential Primary Schools) and Hostels have been established in tribal and other areas. A result education has spread among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and the percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities of the State in 1991 is 36.78 and 22.31 respectively.

By the end of 1991-92 there are 163 Residential High Schools including 130 for boys and 38 for girls, and of these 91 Residential High Schools for boys and 31 Residential High Schools for girls have been located in the Sub-Plan (I.T.D.A.) areas of the State. 16,721 Scheduled Tribes, 4654 Scheduled Castes and 4293 other community students were on the rolls of these institutions during 1991-92.

During 1991-92 there were 109 Ashram Schools including 29 Kanyashrams functioning in the State, out of which 45 Ashram schools and Kanyashrams have been located in the Sub-Plan area of the State. During 1991-92 there were

6,241 Scheduled Tribes, 1,494 Scheduled Castes and 563 other community students in these institutions.

During 1991-92 a total of 56 Residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools), located in the Sub-Plan area of the State, were functioning and 3,936 Scheduled Tribes, 676 Scheduled Castes and 469 other community students were studying in them. There is pressing demand for more numbers of Residential Sevashrams. There are 1,030 Non-residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools) in the State during 1991-92; out of these 624 are located in the Sub-Plan area. During the period under reference 39,155 Scheduled Tribes, 9,525 Scheduled Castes and 9,359 other community students were studying.

Besides these, for the educational development of seven Primitive Tribes, namely, Lanja Saora, Bondra, Dangria Kandha, Juang, Paudi-Bhuyan, Kulis Kandha and Lodha in the Sub-Plan (Micro Project) Area of the State, a special scheme has been taken up with the Special Central Assistance. Primary Schools have been provided in most of the tribal villages to facilitate education of tribal children.

Educational Institutions under the Education Department of the State Government also cater to the needs of children belonging to both the Scheduled (Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes)

and non-Scheduled (general) communities. In view of the integrated approach, the Administrative Structure is one and the same for all the communities. At the lowest level Sub-Inspectors of Schools are in charge of execution and supervision of Educational Programmes. Above the Sub-Inspectors of Schools are the District Inspectors of Schools supported by Deputy Inspectors of Schools, and above the District Inspectors of Schools are the Circle Inspectors of Schools. Circle Inspectors of Schools are followed in the upward pyramid of educational administration by the Directors of Education and the Government in the Education Department respectively. So far the Elementary Education is concerned, there is an independent Director, who is supported by other functionaries. The structure of educational administration has been provided above.

Education of Scheduled Tribe children in the State has made some progress, because of the provision of Residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools), Residential Ashram Schools (M. E. Schools), and Residential High Schools in the tribal areas and provision of stipend for them. There is demand for more Residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools) in tribal areas, because non-residential Sevashrams do not attract tribal children from poorer families. There are 1,030 Non-residential Sevashrams in the State, and out of these 625 are located in the Sub-plan area. There is demand from tribal people for conversion of some of these to residential types so that deprived children from poor families can take advantage of education. Majority of tribal households are below the poverty line, who cannot afford to spend anything from their own sources for the education of their children.

There are several constraints in the education of tribal children. Some of the constraints are technical, and some are administrative, and yet some others are socio-economic. Most of the problems have eluded solution, because of the in-efficient functioning of the administrative and political systems in the State. In the Government sector there is no accountability as in the N.G.O. sector too. There is a plethora of N.G.O. Organisations in Orissa.

4. N.G.O.-managed Educational Programmes:

There are several N.G.Os. operating in the State of Orissa. They are working in a variety of fields, such as, agriculture, health, environmental sanitation, education, eradication of illiteracy,

conservation of natural resources, plantation, income-generating programmes, development of traditional crafts, promotion of women's organisations, etc.

Management of Non-Formal Education Centres, Adult Education Centres and Jena Sikshan Nilayams are certain areas where N.G.Os. can play very effective roles. In fact about 100 N.G.Os. are participating in such programmes in the State. A majority of these N.G.Os. have been founded by the people of the State and some others have been founded by persons from other States. The N.G.Os. have been registered under Registration of Societies Act, 1860. However, there is an overgrowth of N.G.Os. in the State of Orissa. Some of them have the necessary man power and required technical knowledge to undertake multi-faceted development projects, where is some others do not have the required expertise. They receive project specific funds from International Development Agencies, Government of India and the State Government. They depend on the Projects for their existence and expansion. They maintain a skeletal core staff essential for the management of the organisation, but recruit personnel for implementation of programmes on consolidated allowance basis. On completion of one project they are engaged in another project. The N.G.Os. are independent entities, but they are supposed to operate under some public norms. However, there is no agency to oversee and administratively control their activities.

Orissa is both economically and educationally backward. According to 1991 census the percentage of literacy in Orissa was 48.6 (62.4 per cent for male and 34.4 per cent for female) as against the national average of 52.2 (64.20 for male and 39.19 for female). There is also a great deal of variation in inter-district literacy rate. As per 1991 census Orissa had an illiterate population of 136.84 lakh (60.63 lakh male and 86.21 female). The population in the age group of 9-45 years, the target group for eradication of illiteracy, constitutes 76.6 per cent of the total population, numbering 104.00 lakhs. The magnitude of out-of-school children in the State of Orissa is about 9.2 lakh. Besides the drop-outs at the Primary level (class I-V) and Middle level (classes VI-VII) constitute 48 per cent and 69 per cent during 1990-91 respectively in the State. Therefore, non-formal education is an important channel to educate the deprived children, who have either not been enrolled or have left their schools.

Till 1990-91 a total of 18,753 Primary level (classes I-V) Non-Formal Education Centres were in operation in the State. 12,503 Centres were being run by the State Government and 6,250 were being managed by several N.G.O.s. Besides, there were 893 Upper Primary level N.F.E. centres being run by the State Government. In the Primary level centres a total 4.63 lakh (2.64 lakh male and 1.89 lakh female) learners had been enrolled during the corresponding period, in the Middle level (classes VI-VII) centres a total of 4951 (3,163 male and 1,788 female) learners had been enrolled during the same period. The average number of learners enrolled per N.F.E. centre, both under Government and N.G.O. management, is around 30.

The non-formal system of education as a supportive and complementary process to the formal system was introduced in Orissa in 1980, and since then the number of Primary Level N.F.E. centres and learners has steadily increased, but the expansion of Upper Primary level centres could not catch up due to non-enrolment of learners. Beneficiaries as well as the Government are responsible for this. The N.F.E. administration in the State is weak and lacks proper orientation. It has not been properly manned as provided under the control scheme. N.F.E. centres have been opened under political considerations and not as per the parameters outlined in the guidelines. It is alleged that available infrastructural facilities and required demographic situations are not taken into consideration for setting up N.F.E. Centres.

The structure and functioning of the N. F. E. Centres under the Government Management and N. G. O. Management are almost the same. The facilitators are recruited from the local community with the help of the Village Education Committee. Although the facilitators are recruited from the local community there is hardly any commitment on their part, and they do not demonstrate a sense of dedication. Most of them are relation of the members of the Village Education Committee or are the followers of the influential local politicians. They are, of course, very meagrely paid, and they think that they are holding a position on payment, for rendering some Services. Moreover, most of them do not have a clearcut idea about the N.F.E. objectives and curriculum. Nevertheless, they maintain the records of their respective centres. They casually motivate the learners. They become alert whenever the Project Officer, or Co-ordinator, or Junior Co-ordinator or Supervisor visits the

centre. N. G. O. managed N. F. E. centres are no better in these respects.

In the N.F.E. Centres, both under Government management as well as under N.G.O. management due attention, of course, is paid to the convenience of the learners and the educational activities are kept flexible, but in practice, emphasis is laid more on instruction rather than on self-learning. The 'motto of maximum learning in minimum time' is still a far cry. The multi-media approach is more a textual matter, rather than a reality. The administrative structure and staffing pattern of the N. F. E. system, both under the Government and N. G. O. sectors is almost the same with minor difference. Each sector appoints Project Officer, Co-ordinators and Supervisors. In the Government sector Co-ordinators and Junior Co-ordinators are regular employees. The facilitators are recruited from the village communities. Some N. G. Os, provide some sort of orientation about the N. F. E. programmes to their project Officer, Supervisors and facilitators. In the Government sector this is inadequately done. The training support is to be provided by DIETs to the entire N.F.E. programmes. At present only 13 districts have DIET and other districts do not have. Similarly, all the districts do not have Resource Units (DRUs). Therefore, the N.F.E. programmes in the State overwhelmingly depends on the State Council for Educational Research and Training (SCERT). Some N.G.Os, are developing study materials, within the set guidelines, for the N. F. E. projects they have undertaken. However, regular monitoring and evaluation of NFE programmes are not being undertaken as a necessity. The N.G.O., N.F.E. programmes also suffer from this shortcoming.

5. Aspects of restructuring and reorganisation of the existing management and administrative system of education :

(a) In each district at the level of Zilla Parishad two high power committees be constituted to handle all aspects of education in the district. The apex one be named as the 'District Education Committee' constituted with some knowledgeable elected members of the Zilla Parishad and some official members, such as the Collector of the district, the Circle Inspector of Schools etc. The second one, a technical one, be designated as the 'Educational Advisory Committee', composed with educationists drawn from various levels, educational administrators, head of DIET, chief of D.R.U., N.G.O. representa-

tives and teachers of both formal and non-formal system. The apex District Education Committee has to formulate broad educational policies, both for formal and non-formal systems, taking into consideration the wider framework of education in the State and the country. The technical committee is vested with the powers to prepare and prescribe the curricula for Elementary education and Non-formal education as well as supervise the implementation of educational programmes. Monitoring and evaluation of the programmes be regularly carried out through DIET and DRU.

(b) The overall powers of selection, recruitment and transfer of teachers of Primary, Secondary, Technical and Vocational education and supervision of schools and programmes be exclusively vested with the Zilla Parishad. The Panchayat Samiti may be vested with the powers, to transfer only the Primary School teachers serving within the block. It may only be empowered to recommend to the Zilla Parishad for the transfer of teachers of Secondary Schools and Technical and Vocational Institutions. The Sub-Inspector of Schools and the Junior Project Co-ordinator attached to the Block be made responsible to supervise and report to the Panchayat Samiti about the functioning of Primary Schools and running of N. F. E. and A. E. Programmes respectively. The Grama Panchayat may only have the powers to recommend to the Panchayat Samiti for the transfer of Primary School teachers serving within its jurisdiction. The V. E. C. in turn may have the powers to ensure regular functioning of the Primary Schools, and Non-formal and Adult Education Centres by providing certain infrastructural facilities and by motivating the learners for punctual and regular attendance.

(c) Finance is the most crucial aspect of development activities. It is essential for the state to make separate budgetary allocation of funds to Zilla Parishads to undertake various development activities, including formal and non-formal education. The H. R. D. should also provide funds to the Zilla Parishad directly to undertake promotive educational activities and arrange training, refresher and orientation programmes. The funds under J. R. Y. be directly placed at the disposal of Grama Panchayats, so that they can look after the maintenance of school buildings. The N. G. Os. may arrange funds from independent

national and international funding agencies to undertake non-formal education programmes and total literacy campaigns.

(d) The N. G. Os. may be exclusively assigned N. F. E., A. E., T. L. C. and continuing education programmes. Since these programmes are project based the State Government and the H. R. D. may provide necessary funds to them. They may also arrange funds from other national and international agencies. The programme of post-literacy and continuing education of neo-literates be assigned to the N. G. Os. exclusively. At present there are only 1,714 Jana Sikshan Nilayams in the State out of which 1,110 are financed by the Government of India, and the rest 604 are founded by the State Government. The State needs about 6,000 J. S. Ns. If this programme is totally assigned to the N. G. Os., then they may secure funds from the International Development Agencies.

Implementation of N. F. E., A. E., T. L. C. and continuing education programmes may be exclusively assigned to the N. G. Os. They will have to undertake the responsibility of preparing the required instructional materials and training inputs in collaboration with the D. I. E. T. under the overall guidance of the S. C. E. R. T. and S. R. C. If the S. C. E. R. T. and S. R. C. are given the responsibility of overseeing and supervising the preparation of curricular and training inputs then a broad uniformity can be ensured at the State Level.

(e) Zilla Parishads have been conceived as district units of self-Government, and they are expected to carry out economic, social and educational development activities with political power. Panchayati Raj in Orissa consists of a three-tier system; (1) the Grama Panchayat, (2) the Panchayat Samiti, and (3) the Zilla Parishad. In Orissa there are 30 Zilla Parishads, 314 Panchayat Samitis and 5263 Grama Panchayats. The Zilla Parishad is the overarching self-government unit for the district. Under it there are Panchayat Samitis at the Block Level, and under each of them there are a number of Grama Panchayats.

Leadership in matters of development activities, including growth of education, in the district be provided by the Zilla Parishad in collaboration with the Panchayat Samitis and Grama Panchayats.

(i) Village Education Committee :

It is an important committee of the village. Interest of the people, skill, dynamism, commitment, sense of service and quality of leadership in the context of participatory collective development can be ascertained and measured through the functioning of the V. E. Cs. It can also be geared up to share power and responsibilities for self-development. Members of V. E. Cs. need some sort of orientation.

Composition :

As it is an important committee of the village, its composition should be broad-based and it should be truly representative in nature. It should include the local Sarapanch or the Ward Members, Youth Leaders of the village having commitment for promotion of education, some influential elderly elites, at least 30 per cent women representatives, Anganwadi worker and Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe representatives, if they comprise part of the village population. As the Sarapanch and Ward Members usually belong to the political parties, other members included in the Committee should be non-party persons as far as possible.

Function :

The VEC has to ensure smooth functioning of the Primary School, NFE and AE centres, literacy campaign and continuing education programmes in the village. It has to provide the necessary infrastructure facilities for the educational programmes with the help of the Grama Panchayat. It has to mobilise co-operation of people and motivate the learners to be punctual and regular. The VEC has to decide the timings for various programmes taking into consideration the convenience of the learners. It must keep a vigil over the Primary School teachers, NFE facilitator and AE instructor so as to ensure regularity and progress. At present, most of the VEC do not have the required skill and capability to undertake technical supervision of the programmes. For the time being these be left to Block Education Committee and to the Educational Technical Committee of the Zilla Parishad.

Powers :

The VEC may recommend to the Panchayat Samiti for the transfer of the Primary School teachers. Similarly it may recommend to the Panchayat Samiti for substitution of a facilitator or instructor whose work is found to be unsatisfactory.

(ii) Panchayat Samiti Education Committee Composition :

It may consist of the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Samiti some elected members of the Samiti, District Inspector of Schools, Sub-Inspector of Schools, Project Officer, NFE, Co-ordinator, NFE, Child Development Project Officer, Block Development Officer, Assistant Inspector Schools (vocational), Women activists and some educationists. It will maintain the link between Zilla Parishad Education Committee and the VECs.

Function :

It has to function as the intermediate forum between the Education Committee of the Zilla Parishad and the VECs at the ground level. It will have the responsibility of making educational planning for the Block and also of programme-implementation. Its educational planning should be within the limits of the guidelines provided by the Zilla Parishad and the State. Its planning may be confined to the preparation of plan of action, laying down of priorities in implementation as well as of phasing out the programmes in view of resource constraints. It will have regulatory as well as Promotive powers. Monitoring and evaluation will not rest with it. These will be exclusively undertaken by the Zilla Parishad, and therefore, PSEC will have to pay due attention to the evaluation reports of the Zilla Parishad. It will have to revise a POA as per the comments of the Evaluation Cell of the Zilla Parishad. Monitoring and Evaluation must be made in-built components of educational programmes.

Powers :

The Panchayat Samiti Education Committee will have to be given powers as the watchdog of all the educational institutions located within jurisdiction of the Block to ensure their efficient functioning. It should be empowered to initiate disciplinary measures against erring and in-efficient teachers and other staff. It should be vested with the powers to transfer the teachers of one Primary School to another within the Block or increase efficiency. It may recommend to the Zilla Parishad for the transfer of teachers of Secondary Schools and Vocational Institutes and supervising staff. It should have the powers to make minor alterations in the programme view of the prevailing conditions while implementing and co-ordinating them. The powers of intensive supervision of Schools, Institutes and programmes will rest with it. Although it will

initiate disciplinary proceedings against the defaulting teaching and non-teaching staff, the ultimate powers of punishment will rest with the Zilla Parishad.

(iii) Zilla Parishad Education Committee

There should be two committees at the District or Zilla Parishad level to handle educational affairs, one be named as the 'District Education Committee' and the other as the 'Educational Advisory Committee, the former shall be the apex Committee and the second shall be an advisory one.

Composition :

The District Education Committee may consist of the Zilla Parishad Chairman/Vice-Chairman; some elected members of the Zilla Parishad with educational orientation; district officers connected with education directly or indirectly; Principals of colleges in the district; senior Headmasters of Schools; Women Activists; Progressive Youth Leaders; NGO representatives, and some experienced educationists.

The Second Committee, a technical one, may include educationists drawn from different branches as well as from different levels, such as all categories of teachers, educational administrators, head of DIET, head of DRU, Project Officers of NFE and AE programmes, CDPO, representatives of Zilla Sahakarana Samiti and Jana Siksha Nityam Programme. This Committee may be designated as the Educational Advisory Committee.

Function:

The apex District Education Committee has to formulate broad educational policies, both for formal and non-formal systems, taking into consideration the wider framework of education in the State and the country. It will allocate funds for various programmes and decide the order of priorities for implementation. The responsibility of opening new institutions, expanding the existing ones and up-gradation of an institution should exclusively rest with DEC.

The Educational Advisory Committee has to prepare and prescribe the curricula for Elementary Education and Non-Formal Education as well as supervise the implementation of educational programmes. It has to inspect all the educational institutions at regular intervals to ensure efficiency. It will have to chalk out plans for monitoring and evaluation of programmes through DIET, DRU and NGOs.

Powers :

It will have the powers to contact and maintain liaison with State Education Directorates; Council of Secondary Education, Orissa; Council of Higher Secondary Education, Orissa; State Education Departments; SCERT, SRC, Ministry of Human Resources Development; Ministry of Social Welfare and other external, national and international agencies for funds, schemes, technical guidance and support on behalf of the Zilla Parishad.

The overall powers of selection, recruitment, posting, promotion and transfer of all categories of teachers of formal education be vested in DEC of the Zilla Parishad. In these matters the Panchayat Samitis may share some powers as may be thought appropriate. It should be the apex forum of disciplinary action against the teachers and auxiliary staff of educational institutions.

The supervisory powers be fully delegated to the Educational Advisory Committee of the Zilla Parishad. It may suggest appropriate measures, as and when necessary, to tune up the institutions for more efficient functioning.

6. (i) In view of the fact of national integration, the Ministry of HRD with the help of appropriate national agencies has to develop flexible, but pragmatic training packages for teachers of (Elementary, Secondary and Vocational) formal education and various functionaries of non-formal education, functional literacy and pre-school education and send them to Zilla Parishads directly. The Zilla Parishads with the help of their respective DIETs and educational experts may make minor alterations in the training package to suit to their local conditions. The existing training institutes be streamlined and reinforced to cope up with the requirements.

The training package should not be textual, rather it should be pragmatic and should aim at developing human resources; so that the educators/teachers will be self-reliant, practical-minded and community-oriented. Training programme should aim at parsimony of time and resources and maximization of efficiency and output. Therefore, appropriate resource persons for training programme be located. The HRD has to provide funds, materials, accessories and laboratory or workshop facility for the training programmes.

(iv) At present most of the VECs do not have the necessary ability to handle elementary, secondary, non-formal education and functional literacy programmes. Management of all the educational programmes for the time being be assigned to Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads. However, an orientation training programme for the members of VECs may be conducted with financial assistance from the HRD to develop the managerial ability and resources of VECs; so that members of VECs can realise the importance of the development of human resources for their self-development. After such training and orientation they can understand the nuances of participatory development. As inefficiency and corruption are fast creeping into the domain of education, the system of management at all levels need be streamlined. The VECs are to be properly groomed so that the proposed system will deliver the results.

(v) In the present context the role of DIET assumes utmost importance. Its role has to be multifaceted as it will have to design syllabi, prepare guidelines for text book preparation and prepare training inputs for teachers for pre-school, elementary and secondary education, as well as for the instructors of continuing education and functional literacy. Moreover, it has to undertake evaluative studies and educational research. Some leading NGOs may be assigned the responsibility of preparing the study materials for NFE and functional literacy. They may be also given the responsibility of preparing orientation training inputs for NFE facilitators, members of VECs and instructors of functional literacy.

(vi) At the moment imposition of educational cess cannot be thought of. It can be considered only when poverty is reduced to the minimum and when people realise the significance of education. When hunger prevents parents to send their children to school for education, collection of educational cess is a remote possibility. Education at the pre-primary and primary levels has to be subsidised.

(vii) Community resources in the form of locally available materials and manpower can be mobilised to run the educational programmes in the village.

7.(i) Monitoring or concurrent evaluation is an important aspect of successful implementation of any programme. In planned development when huge funds are invested in the face of severe resource constraints monitoring of programmes

at the implementation stage is highly essential so as to provide quick and positive results to the beneficiaries.

Monitoring of NFE, FL and TLC programmes may be assigned to dependable NGOs having necessary expertise.

Monitoring and evaluation of elementary education, secondary education and vocational education may be assigned to the DIET and may be to DRU also.

Concurrent evaluation and monitoring of various training programmes be undertaken by the Educational Advisory Committee of the Zilla Parishad. This Committee should also evaluate the educational activities undertaken by the NGOs in the district.

(ii) Monitoring and concurrent evaluation should constitute an in-built or integral component of all educational programmes, both formal and non-formal. Monitoring and evaluative agencies need be independent of the implementing agencies. Monitoring agencies must provide constant feedback to the controlling authorities as well as to the implementing agencies. Regular review of progress be made by the appropriate authorities along with the monitoring and implementing agencies and representatives of the beneficiaries. Monitoring agencies must provide constant feedback to the implementing agencies, so that huddles can be obviated. As the complete universe cannot be covered in concurrent evaluation, at least 10 per cent representative sample may be selected on the basis of either quota sample or stratified-random sample as the case may be.

(iii) The main objective of monitoring is to realise the goals set in a programme. Other objectives aim at reducing wasteful expenditure, inefficiency, unnecessary delay and elimination of corruption. With the passage of time systemic inefficiency and devolution of responsibilities are on the rise. Political pressure groups are thriving and are making their tentacles all pervasive.

(iv) Monitoring should lead to rapid initiation of follow up measures, which must be worked out at a faster pace so as to eliminate wastage of resources, loss of time and idleness of functionaries. Follow up measures must be designed by the district level planning agency. Follow up measures must revitalise the programme so as to restore the confidence of people in planned development.

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Tribal Women, Environment and Development

Rajalaxmi Rath

The traditional tribal society gives a relatively higher status to their women as compared to the women in the non-tribal society. Tribal women are not treated as beasts of burden. Not only do they have a greater say in the socio-economic life of the family but do not also suffer from the vices of dowry, child marriage, forced-widowhood or other kinds of discriminations in the society. This is true of the middle class tribal society but in the poverty stricken families women work more than the men and their status is also low. These poor tribal families are in close proximity to forests and the forests are intimately connected with tribal life and economy. It is the women in these tribal families who are the focus of this study.

It is not possible to know the exact number of persons living in forests or primarily dependent on forests. The exact proportion of tribals among such population is also not known. Prof. N. K. Bakura, the eminent archaeologist opines that the major bulk of the permanent residents in the forest, except in parts of Western Himalayas are tribals. The major bulk of these tribals depend on the forests in varying degrees for their livelihood.

The tribal women depend on the forest environment for various reasons. It will not be an exaggeration to say that their whole life revolves round the forests. The forest and forest products fulfil to a great extent the three basic needs of food, clothing and shelter of the tribal women and their family. They collect roots and tubers, fruits and edible leaves for their food. The animals that live in forest hidings, which they hunt also serve the purpose of food. There are instances of some tribal people of Chhottanagpur area who search for certain insects in heaps of mud, which are delicacies for them. The women in tribal households finish their household chores early and go into deep forests in search of both their daily food requirements and excess for storing for rainy days.

The responsibility of the tribal women also extend to helping their husbands collect twigs and bamboos, leaves and other items to make houses or places of shelter for their families. The tribal people have given up wearing leaves and barks due to the infiltration of civilisation. Now they wear clothes but buy them from the money got from selling fuelwood, minor forests products like lac, resin, medicinal herbs etc., in the local 'hat'.

When development schemes were less forests were more. Forests had to be cleared in order to make way for development projects like dams, industries, etc. Deforestation and devegetation affects the tribal women more for it increases her long march in search for fuel, fodder and water. The fast depleting forest coverage has become a matter of concern for the elites as well as the forest dwellers. The elites express grave concern for environment imbalances and the forest dwellers feel for the disruption of their socio-cultural heritage and the increasing deprivation resulting from increasing deforestation. The cry of the day is for the maintenance of an ecological balance and clean balanced environment. The forest is not only a supplier of fuel and fodder but also fresh air.

"The importance of forest as preserver of ecosystems and supplier of wood, timber and other forest products is universally recognised. Denudation of existing forests have greatly affected ecological balance in the country, caused social erosion, floods, droughts and heavy siltation in lakes and water reservoirs."

Fuel seems to have gripped the entire rural population more, so the tribal population for this rate of deforestation may result fuel, fodder and fresh air famine by 2,000 A. D. The irony will be that there may be sufficient food for the people but not enough fuel to cook it. Fuel wood constitutes 65 per cent of the total non-commercial energy consumption of the country.

Collecting and selling of fuelwood has become one of the major sources of livelihood for the tribal communities in the absence of alternative occupation. The tribal women more than their men indulge in this practice, which is known as head-loading. A Study conducted by Shri N. G. Baku and few of his students reinforce this contention. The study reveals that 60 per cent of these women headloaders are around 15—30 years, 34 per cent in the age group of 31—40 and the rest 6 per cent are above 40 years of age. These women headloaders are very hard working and struggle all through the year except during the rainy season. They normally go to the forest in groups for this is one way of protection against forest guards or forest contractors or any wild animal. Their's is an arduous task starting early in the day after their household chores. A minimum walk of about 8 to 10 Kms. is the routine due to depleting forest resources and fast deforestation. The tribal woman is overburdened and over strained. She not only walks long distances but spends long hours collecting the fuelwood and equally long hours in going to the town to sell the excess wood and buy the minimum needs like rice, edible oil, salt, etc. In return, Women are forced into this kind of a job for the simple reason that their men are not always dependable. They may earn but are not expected to give it to their families. It is widely observed that they while away their money on liquor. Women also have an edge over their male counterparts because they are endowed with patience and therefore spend the day in the forests collecting fuel. They are also gifted with a good bargaining capacity to sell their wares.

The poor tribal women are often made out to be the real cause for forest destruction. This is not so and they are unnecessarily made the scape goats for the misdeeds of the contractors and some dishonest forest officials. The larger booty is cunningly syphoned out by the contractors in collusion with dishonest forest officials.

Besides collecting fuel they also cater to the family's need for drinking water. Sometimes they have to travel long distances to fetch drinking water from rivers, springs and other sources. In spite of positive steps taken by the Government in this direction many villages still face acute scarcity of drinking water. Wells,

tube-wells and taps have still to reach thousands of tribal and tribal dominated villages. The development schemes in this direction started on an optimistic note but it will be several decades before drinking water reaches remote tribal families. Supply of irrigation water receives more priority than drinking water and water for other household needs. Women being the carriers are the worst affected and are the real sufferers.

Due to the development schemes a number of canals have been constructed in order to facilitate agriculture. But it is observed that with the rise of water level after the construction of canals the salinity in the drinking water wells in the nearby area goes up. These wells have to be abandoned consequently leading to drinking water crisis. Also in areas where deep tube-wells are in operation the water table goes down, doubling the labour involved in drawing water from the wells. The poor tribal women have to again use double the energy. The development schemes also create environmental imbalances by increasing salinity, by the rising in the water table, etc., and in the process of the area. This situation adds to the burden of the tribal women for in the tribal household the male member is normally not entrusted with this task. M. S. Swaminathan, former Member of the Planning Commission, admitted in his J. P. Naik memorial lecture—

"If men had to fetch drinking water then 2,30,000 villages would not have remained without provision of drinking water after 30 years of planned development."

Not only does she bear the burden of collecting fuel and drinking water for her family but she also has to collect fodder for her domestic animals if she has any and also look after them. Here again the already over-burdened tribal woman spends her energy and time collecting fodder for her animals. Grazing in the forests has been banned since, it is regarded as a threat to afforestation efforts. They believe that tribal and village communities are destroying the forests encouraged the custodians of forests to become stricter and more restrictive in their rules resulting in greater exclusion, oppression and corruption. Verrier Elwin, the famous anthropologist, who worked with the tribal people and understood tribal problem said:

"There is a feeling among tribals that all arguments in favour of preservation and development of forests are intended to refuse them their demands. They (tribals) argue that if it is the question of industry, township development work or projects of rehabilitation, all these plausible arguments are forgotten and vast tracts placed at the disposal of outsiders who mercilessly destroy the forest wealth with or without necessity."

Voicing the same feeling our late Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi said in his first broadcast to the nation in 1975 :

"Continuing deforestation has brought us face to face with a major ecological and socio-economic disaster. The trend must be halted. I propose immediately to set up a National Waste Lands Board with the object of bringing 5 mha. of land every year under fuelwood and fodder plantations. We shall develop a people's movement for afforestation."

This statement gives importance to both the ecological concerns and subsistence needs of the people. Protection and afforestation were not to be achieved by policying methods but with participation and involvement of the people.

Previously, man was more in harmony with the environment animate as well as inanimate. Independence ushered in an era of developmental planning. Development though essential for the progress of mankind when rapid and violent cases a change in the ecology and such a change can hardly be absorbed and internalized by the system. It is in the process of such development that the tribal people who continue to live nearer nature are the worst affected. The industrial revolution has shaken them and their ecological setting is modified, disturbed, and destroyed. How could the planners do this to them in the name of development. The basic document of the Rio Conference also states that the indigenous people are the custodians of knowledge of mankind. B. K. Roy Burman feels that there is no waste land and hence no need for waste land development. "What we consider waste is the resource of the poor", he said. The State in his opinion is there only to protect the land. Development can take place on a proper pace so that the environment and ecological balance is least disturbed. The noted geographer Huntington reiterates the same view, "Ecological planning not only ensures survival but also ensures sustainable development."

Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, which were the two key words of development strategies after independence took a toll of not only the forest land but also polluted the fresh atmosphere around it. The development schemes naturally led to clearing of large tracts of forest land, which in turn not only led to ecological imbalances but also caused a lot of problem to the poor tribal people who had been living in these forests from times immemorial. Misery was inflicted upon them in the name of development. The industries that came up not only displaced the poor tribal families but the Government also failed to give them either adequate alternative land to settle down or any other form of compensation. The shock and trauma of being uprooted from one's parent environment and the problems and peculiarities of settling in a new environment without adequate compensation is borne mostly by the tribal women who has to keep the family running even in the worst of circumstances. The house and the family has to be looked after no matter what load she has to take and how she manages. This is a very difficult situation and gives us an insight into the strength of the tribal woman. She is many faced and has the capacity and courage to bear a lot.

Irrigation projects like dams also result in uprooting mercilessly thousands of families and if the project is undertaken in a tribal area, hundreds of tribal families are affected. The dam which is supposed to control floods, provide drinking water, electricity to innumerable households in nearby towns and villages first causes irreparable damage to so many innocent tribal people. Once again the woman is to bear the brunt of the troubled situation and sure enough she is there to bear the consequence on her fragile shoulders with her determination and strength. Due to the dam constructions tribal families have to shift from their forest surroundings to new and alien surroundings. The tribal woman once again plays her role of a buffer or shock absorber with alacrity and courage in spite of a lot of hardship. It is usually she who puts back the family on its feet in the new surrounding. She looks after the new abode, the children, husband, aged parents, if any and even earns for the family either as a wage labourer in the dam site or as an agricultural labourer in somebody's field.

Due to the emphasis on irrigation in the Five-Year Plans there has been a steady progress in the agricultural sector. This in turn is highly labour

intensive. It is in such situations that the tribal people especially the men migrate as agricultural labourers in order to earn something. In this kind of a situation the management of the family falls on the tribal women. All along without the head of the family around, they have to make extra efforts to look after the family. Because of the male migration, the women are even forced to devote more time in agriculture and look after the fields. Even if they work as labourers in somebody's fields they do not get the wages that are due to them. They are harassed, made to work longer periods and often bear the brunt of sexual abuse too. The male members being away from home they are more susceptible to such treatment. The male members who have migrated work hard to earn their wages and it is their duty to send part of the earnings to the family back home. This is ideally the case. The expenses in new and urban surroundings being high they hardly send any money home. The women also have very little control over their men once they are out of sight. The men also while away the money in gambling and country liquor. It is in such situations that the tribal women rise to the occasion. They not only look after the family but also earn and often help their men folk working in towns.

Not only do the men migrate but often the family has to migrate in order to eke out a living. With the dwindling forest resources and depleting forest coverage the tribal families are left high and dry. They move to urban, industrial or mining areas to earn their livelihood. It is but natural that a shift in the habitat is a major source of dispondence and disillusionment for the tribal people. Time eases the problem but in this effort the role of the tribal woman is noteworthy. The tribal woman works not only at home cooking, caring, collecting fuel and fodder but also works in other people's fields, or as labourer with contractors who hire them as labourers in mines or industries. Though legally they should get equal wages as men, it is not so. Not only do they work long hours and are paid low wages but are often harassed by the contractors. It is really very painful for the tribal women for they seldom experienced the scourge of poverty in their traditional habitat and environment, because the forest was a perennial and diverse source of edible items. But due to the change in the nature of work and work habitat the mind and the body of the tribal woman is greatly affected. The forced change from a natural, exuberant and

free environment to an artificial, constricted and tricky environment often inextricably confuses the tribal women. Life in the new environment lacks the village divine men, medicine men, the mid-wives, etc. All this is a culture shock for the tribal women who have to cope up anyhow with the new surroundings sans these traditional people. The new situation may be instrumental in wiping out their traditional outlook, attitudes, customs and values. The women also cannot adjust with the expenses in such a situation and not only lose their mental equanimity but get forced into immoral activities to augment their small income. Poverty and lack of social control cause frequent conflicts and may ultimately result in the dissolution of marriage. Study shows that Adivasi women from Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana areas are taken by contractors to brick kilns around Patna and are forced to work for 12 hours a day on extremely low wages. They are made to face a lot of harassment and torture by the contractors and blamed for any mishap while being labelled as witches.

The above development of schemes were undertaken with a view to bringing about an overall development of the country in general and the tribal communities in particular. After the Fifth Five-Year Plan the planners felt that the schemes failed to bring any change in the tribal settings too. The Sixth Plan made a special emphasis on the development of tribal people. Tribal women were however never treated as a separate group. It can be argued that the tribal development schemes failed for they failed to take into consideration the specificities of the tribal society. The importance of the forest environment and the confidence of the tribal women should have been taken into account while formulating the plans. This is for the simple reason that the women in a tribal society have a major role to play and as their life revolves in and around the forest they will be one of the best judges of the need of environmental protection. They do not have to be taught environmental ethics they are born with it.

The daughters of the hills, the tribal women gave the call for environmental protection some three hundred years ago, much before the U. N. Women's Decade and the Stockholm Environment Conference, when they clung to the trees in a protective embrace, to prevent them from the contractors axes. This was the famous Chipko

Movement. "Environmental movements like Chipko become historical landmarks because they have been fuelled by the ecological fights and political and moral strengths of women", opined the famous environmentalist Vandana Shiva. Mrs. Behn, who was one of the Mahatma's closest disciples gave a very clear cut opinion after studying the environment very intimately. She felt that it was not only necessary to plant trees but plant ecologically appropriate trees. The Chipko Movement had its echo in many parts of the country revealing the determination, awareness of the tribal women and the realisation that commercialising felling of trees will not only bring ecological disaster but mean travelling of the already overburdened tribal families for long distances in order to collect fuel and fodder. The Chipko's ecological slogan, whichever be the area of operation is "what do the forests bear soil, water and pure air".

Each Chipko protest has demonstrated the ecological concern of the tribal and rural women. On World Environment Day (1979) hundreds of women both tribal and non-tribal demonstrated in Tehel with empty pots. They had to say that their pots were empty in spite of massive investment in projects. Their message was simple but forceful. They felt that nature being the primary source of water any tampering with nature meant digging the natural source of water. Vandana Shiva, Magasay A. and Manu: and famous environmentalist and pioneer of rural and tribal women's cause opines after in-depth study that :

"If nature's cycle is maintained and water is conserved then mother earth will bear water even without pipes and taps. Disruption of this nature's cycle means wells and pipes will go dry and water schemes are bound to fail in region after region."

A very important requirement of a tribal setting is proper sanitation for the tribal people have always used the jungles for their natural requirements. This can create serious health hazards and can also be a threat to the environment. It is observed that tribal women use open fields discretely for the simple reason that they need more privacy than their male counterparts. The Rio Earth Charter gave priority to sanitation connecting it from water supply and health care. The tribal women spend much time in collection of fuel and fodder in the forests. If proper sanitation and cleanliness of

the area is not ensured then it has with it a chain of hazardous reactions. Such a situation takes its toll in creating sickness and disease among children. This adds to the already overburdened tribal mother and in the process she may fall sick. This is a vicious circle, one leading to the other. The need is to devise ways both 'persuasive' and 'coercive' to stop this sort of environmental pollution. The government should devise and build cheap public latrines in tribal areas.

The lack of adequate maternity and health care, together with associate needs also expose the tribal women to environmental and health hazards. Due to the lack of these facilities and high rate of infant mortality she produces more children for she is not sure of the postnatal care and the toll on her family. In the process she adds to the already existing population boom. Over population is anti-environment and ecology. More people means a greater demand on nature's capacity for nature has enough capacity to last life-time if properly used. Family Planning Programmes have to be enforced in tribal areas. Just one lady health visitor who occasionally turns up at the doorstep of the tribal households is not enough to give incentive to tribal women to adopt family planning methods. As far as is possible adequate facilities and services should be given. For if underfed and over-worked women bear many children, the impact on their health can be drastic and sometimes fatal.

Even before independence the tribal people who lived in peace, tranquility and contentment in their sylvan surroundings felt the pressure on their natural habitat due to the process of exploitation, extortion and land alienation. Independence ushered in an area of development planning. Planning disturbed much of the forests due to Industrialisation, Urbanisation and Agricultural expansions. It is the woman in the tribal community who directly or indirectly suffers due to the depletion or change of her surroundings. In order to meet these emergencies she has to be imparted environmental education so that she can not only learn to preserve but learn to live in spite of the emergent situation. "Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a community", goes the saying. Her opinion ought to be taken into consideration while planning for development of the area about

which she is so well acquainted with. Her knowledge of the plants which are suitable for the forest areas can help in the social forestry programmes undertaken by the government so that the proper plants are chosen during plantation drives. Selection of wrong plants may be hazardous for the ecology and environment and so more harm than good.

Recent trends note an effort involving the communities who live close to forest areas the process of rehabilitation of the degraded forest land. This is done under the J. F. P. (Joint Forest Management), and J. F. P. M. (Joint Forest Planning Management) Scheme, which is a more collaborative effort between the forests and the communities

adjoining the forest lands. According to Samar Singh, former Secretary of Forests, Government of India, :

"The objective is to make the local people develop an interest in the health of forests on which they depend for sustenance, by making them responsible for the protection and maintenance of the forest tracts near their habitation and sharing the forest produce with them in a fair and equitable manner. The core principle of this new arrangement is "care and share".

Who best can do this but the sharing, carrying and brave tribal women.

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Marriage & Family :

A Study on the Bondo of Orissa

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I

Towards the south-west of Jaypore at a distance of about 70 Kms. lies a picturesque landscape forming a part of the eastern-ghat hill ranges covered with thick vegetation, the abode of many Dravidian and Mundari speaking tribes such as the Gadaba, the Bondo, the Didayi and the Sora. Among these groups and other tribal communities found elsewhere in the State, the Bondo are considered as one of the primitive tribes. Because of their long occupation, the region occupied by them in the eastern-ghats is commonly known as "Bondo hills". Here, the nature with all its bounties and endowments has favoured the Bondo to flourish and lead a kind of life they cherished through ages. In terms of both socio-economic development and contact with the outside world they not only lag far behind their other tribal brethren, but also, they are one of the few select band of tribal groups found in the country, who are known to have preserved their respective core culture to a large extent undisturbed by the effects of massive development intervention that is going on in the area for quite sometime.

Distribution and Demography :

Under the present administrative divisions the area inhabited by the Bondo comes under Khairput Block of newly formed Malkangiri district. Based on the location of settlements, socio-cultural affiliations and geo-physical diversities the entire Bondo territory can broadly be divided into three groups of villages such as :—

- (1) Barajanger group or Barajanger des comprising twelve original hill-Bondo settlements forming a confederacy for politico-jural purposes.
- (2) Gadaba or Gadaba-Bondo group consisting of six hill-Bondo villages greatly influenced by the Gadaba culture and dialect.

- (3) Plain group of twenty-four village^a located in the plains of Khairput Block completely distinct from the other two groups.

At present there are as many as 25 hill-Bondo villages distributed under three Gram-panchayats, namely, Boddural, Ondrahal and Mudulpada and many plain Bondo villages distributed in four Grampanchayats, namely, Khairput, Kudumulgma, Govindspalli and Muniguda.

Numerically, the Bondo are a small group compared to other tribal communities mostly confined to Khairput Block of Malkangiri district. The population of the tribe from the year 1941 onwards are available are mentioned hereunder:—

Census year	Bondo population
1941	... 2,565
1951	... 3,641
1961	.. 4,677
1971	.. 5,338
1981	.. 5,895

The above population figures reveal that the Bondo population have shown steady increase during the last five decades. But their growth rate is little slow in comparison to that of the total tribal population of the State. The decadal growth rate recorded among them during 1971—81 was 10.93 per cent as against 16.68 per cent for the total tribal population of the State. In the total population 5,895 (1981 Census) the females outnumber the males, the sex ratio being 1,113 females per 1,000 males. The rate of literacy among them is alarmingly low, being only 3.81 per cent as compared to 13.98 per cent for the total tribal population of the State. The present paper is prepared on the basis of the data collected in connection with a larger study on "traditions and customs" of the Bondo taken up during the year 1993-94.

II MARRIAGE

In the social organisation of the Bondo marriage is an important institution which lays legal foundations for the family. It is the most remarkable and memorable event for a Bondo during his life time, as his cherished dream comes true by acquiring a mate. It is a kind of indissoluble bond which does not break ordinarily, as only death of either of the partners can break such tie.

Marriage Rules

The marriage rules of the Bondo are very elaborate and framed on the basis of three sets of relationships, that is, the relationship of a man with his village community, the relationship with his *soru-bhai* and the relationship with his clan (*Kuda*) members.

The Bondo villages are almost like sacred entities with well defined and demarcated boundaries, guarded by many benevolent deities and spirits. This sacramental fellowship between the members of a village backed by moral and religious values force them to lead a disciplined life and maintain brotherhood, thus, making the village as an exogamous unit. Besides, the boys and girls of a village whether belong to a single *kuda* or several *Kudas* who are attached to one *sindibar* (the sacred meeting place of the village council) are considered as brothers and sisters. Therefore, marriage cannot take place among them under any circumstance. The marriage rules are observed so strictly that the boys of one village are not allowed to visit the girls dormitory (*Sarani dingo*) of the same village in the evening, as that visit may lead to marriage with someone else. Such union is viewed as a serious offence and is regarded as incestuous. But in certain exceptional situations deviation of the law of village exogamy is also observed as mentioned by Elwin and Haimendorf in their descriptions about the Bondo. According to them when the village is composed of some immigrants who have not been fully integrated with the original inhabitants and who for all ritual purposes form a separate entity, then marriage between the two groups is possible.

In addition to village exogamy, the Bondo also observe *soru*-exogamy rigidly. *Soru* means food, in Tamil literature. But to a Bondo it is a kind of sacred food offered ceremonially to *Pakkanda Mahaprabhu* their supreme deity. The persons belonging to a group of specific villages

who share this food are attached to one another by a sacramental fellowship or *soru*-brotherhood. Elwin writes "A man's neighbours are his *sorabhai*, brothers who have eaten the same sacrificial food, a privilege that is rigidly restricted to the members of the same village (1950:24). Due to this ritual tie, marriage between these families are forbidden. Initially, members of two villages, namely, Mudulipada and Dantipada were sharing *soru* among themselves. But due to population increase, the village Mudulipada gave rise to two more villages, namely, Bandhuguda and Podaliguda, the members of which now share *soru* with the inmates of Mudulipada and Dantipada. These four villages who are ritually attached to one another by sharing a common *soru* are held as Kufumba villages, hence, matrimonial relationship between the members of these villages is not permissible.

Apart from *soru*-fellowship that forbids marriages between its members, the rules of exogamy is very rigidly adhered to by the members of different *Kudas* or clans. The *Kuda* or *Monda* which is very conspicuous in Bondo social organisation is nothing but exogamous patrilineal clans. A Bondo is proud of his own *Kuda* and he suffixes the *Kuda* name to his own name. There are nine different *Kudas* such as *Badnak*, *Chalan*, *Dhangere*, *Majhi*, *Kisan*, *Muduli*, *Sise*, *Dore*, *Jigiri* and *Mendra* found in the Bondo society. The latter three names are said to be recent inclusion. Formerly, the villages were unclan in composition as evident from their names. For example, Mudulipada was the stronghold of Mudulis and the Kisanipada that of the Kisanas. But in course of time, due to population pressure both in and out migration took place in these villages which resulted in complete change in their composition. Now, in each and every village, households belonging to more than one *Kuda* are noticed. The members of one particular *Kuda* are said to have descended from a common ancestor and, as such, regarded as consanguineal kins. Therefore, marriage alliances between boys and girls belonging to the same *Kuda* are forbidden. Formerly as the *Kuda* was more or less coterminous with the territorial division, while observing village exogamy, it automatically meant that marriage had taken place outside one's own *Kuda*. But now under the changed situation, they are very particular about both village and *Kuda* exogamy as a Bondo is restricted by customary rule not to marry a girl within his own village even if she belongs to a

different Kude. However, in village Andrahal marriages have been reported between the members of different Kudas living in the same village. This is due to the fact that Andrahal is a big village where different Kude members live in separate wards maintaining their separate identity for all socio-religious purposes independent of others. This case may be taken as exception to the general rule.

Another ritual-relationship known as *Mofor* or *Mahapasad* that exists at the family level also regulates matrimonial relationship between the concerned families. It is a kind of ritual-friendship based on intimacy, mutual help and support that develops into a permanent tie, between two persons of similar temperament of more or less of the same age group. Informal and casual friendship between two persons, in course of time it develops into a very rigid bond then a permanent shape is given to such relationship when they call each other as *Mofor*. Such relationship once established continues for generations between the two *Mofor* families, and marriage between the members of these two friendly families is not performed according to their custom.

Age at Marriage:

The Bondo have a peculiar tradition with regard to determination of age at marriage for boys and girls. The girls marry at the age of 16 to 18 years after attaining puberty and adulthood and the boys at the age of 8 to 10 years when they are still in the childhood stage. In Bondo marriages parity of age between the marrying couple is not a factor to be considered, where the wife is older than the husband and the margin of age difference between the two in certain cases may exceed more than 8 to 10 years. The society does not take into account such factors as maturity and adulthood, capability of maintaining a family and performing sexual act, etc., required for a boy while considering him fit for marriage.

The explanations to the custom of marrying immatured boys to the matured girls mostly come from the women folk as they feel that a boy becomes old when he develops beard and mustache on his face and no girl would like to marry such a person. Haimendorf has put forth some reasonable explanations to this quoting the opinion of some of the Bondo ladies. He mentions that "..... such uneven matches

were of the girls fun making they like marrying small boys for them who have young husbands to work for us when we are old..... a stronger motive may be girls' desire to prolong the happy days in the dormitory". (1943: 172).

Pre-marital Sex:

The customary rule of the Bondo does not permit to acquire sexual experience prior to marriage. Any deviation from adhering to this rigid custom is seriously viewed and the deviants are awarded with severe punishment. The boys and girls though enjoy complete freedom in their society, what to speak of pre-marital sex, they do not even indulge in indecent jokes with one another. Verrier Elwin has categorically denied the practice of pre-marital sex among the Bondo and mentioned that the boys and the girls who spend the night together in the dormitory have the experience of unconsummated sexual excitement. Such excitement never leads to sex as the girls would never like to have it. "To them sexual intercourse in the pre-marital period implies a serious intention: it is most equivalent to a betrothal" (1950:71:172)". But Haimendorf, on the other hand, observed that pre-marital sex, act is of rare occurrence among the Bondo, as he mentions, "The Bondos believe that occasional intercourse in the girls' dormitory does not lead to pregnancy; only if a boy and girl live together, for a year or two will they have children (1943: 170)". Commenting on the reaction of the society on pre-marital sex and pregnancy he further writes that, "But even pregnancy resulting from adventures in the *seloni dingo* is no very great misfortune; most likely the girl's lover will marry her, but if he does not, neither he nor the girl will draw upon themselves a fine or any other unpleasantness. It is said that in such a case the girl may no difficulty in finding someone else to marry her and accept the child as his own. In neither event are wedding ceremonies hurried, for there is no objection to the child being born in the house of the girl's parents (1943: 170-171).

Now-a-days, the Bondo culture has been subjected to many changes under the influence of increasing outside contact and mobility and many age-old customs and traditions have been given up. Therefore, whatever liberty was allowed with regard to pre-marital sex, has been completely withdrawn. Now the society lays more emphasis on the chastity of the girls prior to their marriage.

Seleni Dingo: The Matrimonial Agency

Of all varieties of experiences a Bondo may have in his life time, the one that relates to his days in the dormitory is unforgettable, for these days are his happiest moments of life. Perhaps, no other tribal societies in Orissa other than the Juang of North Orissa have such a well organized dormitory system as that of the Bondo. In each village there are two dormitories, one for the girls, called *seleni dingo* and the other for the boys called *inger sindingo*. The former is well maintained unlike the latter and chiefly acts as the matrimonial agency. The Bondo children enjoy utmost freedom in selecting their life partners and in such matter the parents or the guardians do not interfere at all. For such right selection, which demands free mixing by the boys and girls, in order to know each others' habit, temperaments, likes and dislikes from a close quarter, *Seleni dingo* acts as the common meeting ground for them.

The Bondo society has imposed certain restrictions on the boys with regard to their visit to girl's dormitories. A boy can not visit the girl's dormitory of his own village, besides he is also not permitted to go to those places of other villages where his own *Kudu* and *soru bai* members are living. He is only allowed to visit the girl's dormitory of those villages with which matrimonial relationship can be forged.

During the rainy season, the girl's dormitory, *seleni dingo*, roars into activity in the evening every day, when the unmarried girls charmingly dressed eagerly await to welcome the boys of other villages. The boys, in groups, well-dressed walk miles to reach their destination and on their arrival they greet each other with smiles on their face. The girls entertain the boys with food and drink and in return the boys give them presents like bamboo combs, plaited grass or palmyra hair bands. Till late night playing and singing, funnoring and gossiping continues between them and in the morning the boys return to their respective villages with the promise of meeting once again in the evening. Visits to girl's dormitory continues for days together, and in course of such visits a boy may fall in love with a girl, when love intensifies and the boy becomes sure that his proposal for marriage will be accepted, then he while holding the middle finger of the girl puts a brass bangle on her palm. The girl may accept it to confirm her consent, or else she may throw it away to convey her disapproval of the proposed marriage. Therefore, love

making does not lead always to marriage and out of many only few succeed. The unsuccessful boys never loose their hearts, and they continue their effort by moving to girl's dormitories of other villages.

Types of Marriage

The Bondo marriages are of two types (1) marriage by mutual consent *sebung* and (2) marriage by capture *Gubel* among them, the occurrence of former type is more than the latter.

Marriage by mutual consent, though held as prestigious in their society, is very expensive. Therefore, it is more or less rich men's affair. It is very elaborate and involves several stages such as, dormitory visit by the boys and selection of girl, formal approval of the selection by boy's parents, exchange of visits by both the parties several times with presentation, fixation of amount of bride price to be paid and finally consummation of marriage. Marriage is celebrated in an auspicious day fixed by *Dizari*, the village astrologer. The groom's party goes to the bride's village carrying with them several pots of cocked food and beer to bring the bride. The food and drink is served to the bride's relations present there who in turn also entertain the members of groom's side with same type of food. Next day, the bride is brought to the groom's house. In both these places customary rituals associated with marriage are performed. At the end, sumptuous feast is arranged by the groom's family to entertain all those who are associated with the marriage, that include *Kudu* members *Soru bai*, *grober* friends, maternal relatives and other distinguished guests.

Marriage by Capture

This type of marriage is less expensive, less elaborate and simple than the earlier type mentioned above. Most of the secondary marriages are performed by capture of divorced or married women and widows. Capture of unmarried girls are very rare seen in Bondo society. The main features of this type of marriage are forcible capture of a bride followed by her and her parent's approval and payment of bride-price. According to Halimendorf, "The capture is usually a mere pretence, for a Bondo girl can't easily be married against her will and even if taken by force to capture's village she will run away at the first opportunity unless she likes him and he has her consent. However, a marriage by capture must be followed by the payment of usual bride price (1943 : 171-172)". In this type of

marriage, expenses on feast is minimised as no bullock is killed, besides gifts and visits are reduced. The circumstances that compel a Bondo to resort to this type of marriage are narrated below:

- (i) When a boy fails to select a girl during his visit to *Safani dingo*.
- (ii) When a boy grows old with the emergence of beard and moustache on his face.
- (iii) When a man goes for second marriage.
- (iv) When a widower or divorcee wants to remarry.
- (v) When a physically handicapped person wants to marry.
- (vi) When poor man who cannot afford to pay the usual amount of bride-price and meet the marriage expenses want to marry.

Sometimes, in this type of marriage, if attempts are made to marry forcibly an unwilling girl, the situation may lead to quarrel and conflict between the two concerned families taking a violent shape, even resulting in murder of any person from either side.

There are many cases of marriage by capture noticed in the Bondo society. In village Dandigada one E. Sisa, an orphan and poor person who as brought up by his maternal uncle captured a girl named S. Toki of village Challaigada and married her. He resorted to this practice as he could not bear the expenses of 'zebyng' type of marriage. Another case of kidnapping of a married woman was reported in village Dumuripada. A man of this village deceived the girl named M. Toki of village Badapada while she was working in Dunge (widened land) and paid double the bride-price as compensation to the former husband of the kidnapped lady.

Preferential forms of Marriage :

Generally speaking, the customary law of the Bondo does not prescribe any preferential or obligatory forms of marriage. Marriage between the cross-cousins and parallel cousins is not permitted as they are regarded as no more than brothers and sisters. Commenting on the freedom a Bondo with regard to his marriage Elwin writes, "A Bondo boy has unprecedentedly wide field from which to select the future wife, he is not tied down—as are most of his neighbours by obligations to a cousin or other relative or by his elders' tiresome desire that he should marry money or improve the family status by marrying well (1950 : 73)".

They do not practise sororate, but to some extent they practise levirate. In the latter type, a man may marry his deceased younger brother's wife with his approval. This is a peculiar practice in the sense that generally younger brother succeeds his elder brother after latter's death by marrying his wife, but among the Bondo it is just the opposite. Verrier Elwin has put forth reasonable explanations about this as "—among the Bondos an elder brother's wife would probably too elderly to be attractive, whereas the younger brother's though possibly older than her own husband, would be more of an age with the elder brother and so more available for an affair (1950 : 117)". There are instances among the Bondo, when the elder brother has, forcibly married his younger brother's wife after she has deserted her husband and gone back to her parental village.

Polygamy :

The practice of Polygamy though prescribed in Bondo society is very rarely met. A Bondo ordinarily does not like to invite trouble and put himself into difficulty by acquiring more wives. To him, more the number of wives means, more the number of houses to built, more the number of children to rear and more the quantity of food stuff to produce. Moreover, polygynous marriages are rarely met with success due to frequent quarrel among the co-wives. However, a man may go for a second wife, when extra hand is needed in agricultural operation, or the first wife is barren or too old to satisfy the sexual urge of the husband. The first wife does not grumble and conveys her approval to her husband's second marriage in case of first two reasons but if the motive is sex gratification and enjoyment she never approves such a proposal. The co-wives stay in separate huts with their children and very rarely they tolerate each other and live as co-operating housewives.

In most of the Bondo villages very few polygynous families are seen. In Mudulpada X. Muduli has two wives, the first one G. Toki was acquired through negotiation and the second one K. Toki through capture. Here the motive for second marriage was to obtain an extra hand to expand the area of cultivation and get more food stuff for consumption of the family. In the same village one Y. Muduli brought a second wife due to the barrenness of his first wife. Both the cases are examples of successful polygynous marriages as were performed with the approval of the first wife.

Bride price :

Payment of bride-price is an unique practice found among the tribal societies of Orissa. This custom is rigidly followed among the Bondo too. Whether the marriage is by negotiation or by capture, may it be a rich or poor man's affair, the payment has to be made otherwise marriage cannot take place. The amount of bride-price negotiated between the two parties is paid soon after the marriage is over or within a reasonable time-frame. It is paid both in cash and kind, which consists of some heads of cattle, few pots of liquor and some cash. The amount of bride-price to be paid is fixed by taking into consideration the types of marriages to be formed and the economic condition and social position of groom's family. Generally, less amount of bride-price is paid in case of marriages made by capture of a widow or a divorced woman in comparison to marriage performed through mutual consent. In case of marriage made by capture of married women double the amount of usual bride price is paid.

Divorce and remarriage

The Bondo marriages are more or less stable, therefore, divorce, though socially permitted is of rare occurrence. They regard breaking of the wedlock a very serious matter which requires careful thought and consideration before it is effected. Like marriage divorce is an family affair. Both men and women are at liberty to divorce each other on reasonable grounds. Besides, divorce can be effected unilaterally by either of the spouse or by mutual consent of both. The grounds for effecting divorce for both men and women are adultery or illicit sexual act; cruelty, harassment, ill-treatment and physical assault, laziness, non-cooperation in economic activities, sexual disability and incapability, incurable disease, unfaithfulness and physical and mental disabilities etc. When divorce is effected with the initiative of husband, he can not claim to get back the brideprice, but if it is otherwise, the husband gets back the bride-price. After divorce, the wife has no claim over the children.

In Bondo society widows or widowers and divorced persons are allowed to remarry. They enjoy equal status as that of others. A young widower may visit the girl's dormitory, but a widow, young or old is not allowed to do so. In case of widow marriage she has no right to take any of her children with her to the house of her new husband.

III

BONDO FAMILY

In every human society, living from most primitive to most modern family is the basic social institution. Murdock (1949) regards family as a 'social groups, Mead (1931) a 'status giving group' and Lowie (1950) an association which includes adults of both sexes having socially approved sexual relationship. In the Bondo society family is the basic social unit forming a cultural superstructure over a biological foundation. It comprises both young and old of either sex tied together by kinship bonds and marriage rules. The family functions as (1) Legitimate sexual unit, (2) controlled reproductive unit, (3) educational unit and (4) economic unit, that are essential for survival and perpetuation of individuals.

Structure and composition

Among the Bondo, the family is mostly nuclear consisting of married couple and their dependant offsprings. Joint or extended families are very rarely metwith. The ideal structure of the nuclear family often disintegrates owing to death and marriage of any individual, thus giving rise to various broken forms. The different forms of nuclear family found among the Bondo are given below :

- (a) Households having married couple and their unmarried children.
- (b) Households having married couple only
- (c) Households having only siblings
- (d) Households having either husband or wife with unmarried children.
- (e) Households with a single member.

Generally, the ideal form of generationally enlarged or extended family structure is not seen among the Bondo. Besides, the system of joint family which is made up of co-perceners that is, the brothers of one generation, together with their sons in the next generation, or sons of third generation is also not found among them. But as a matter of obligatory duty a Bondo is bound by tradition to burden the responsibility of his parents when they become invalid due to old age, prolonged disease or permanent physical or mental disability. In such situations the general practice is that the old persons are provided food and other necessities by their sons and their burden of maintenance is shared equally by them. This indicates that in Bondo society although a son after marriage gets

separated from his parents and establishes neo-localised once, the family tie between the members which is built on kinship bonds and strong emotional feelings does not break. Apart from the societal custom of establishment of neo-local residence after marriage, the other reasons which discourage the growth of extended family structure among them are lack of space in the house to accommodate more members and the carefree and individualistic attitude of the Bondo to lead an independent life.

In order to find out the average size of the Bondo family and its structure and composition a survey was conducted in seven villages covering 414 households and 1510 population. The data revealed that on an average a Bondo household is composed of 4 members conforming to nuclear family structure. The composition of nuclear family as found out during the study is given below, in the following table.

Composition of Bondo family

Sl. No.	Categories	No. of families	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Household with husband and wife ..	58	14.0
2	Household with husband and wife with son or daughter or both.	224	54.2
3	Household with either husband or wife with children	66	16.0
4	Households with siblings only ..	2	0.1
5	Household with single member ..	25	6.1
6	Household with either husband or wife or both with or without children with dependant collaterals or parents.	39	9.4
Total ..		414	100.00

The above table indicates that out of the six categories of Bondo nuclear family, the first to constitute unbroken and complete type comprising the majority (282 households or 68.3%) of the households. Among the 'broken' forms the category "Household with either husband or wife with children" accounts for maximum (66 households of 16.06 per cent) number of households. Besides, the other broken forms include 25 or 6.1 per cent single member households and there are only two households with siblings only. The sixth category is composed of households with either husband or wife or both with or without children with dependant collaterals or parents. Although the inclusion of dependant parents and collaterals in the composition of nuclear family do not seem justifiable, but under no circumstances here in case of the Bondo these cannot be taken as examples of extended family. Because, sometime when the parents die leaving behind young children, it becomes the duty of the elder

brother to look after them and arrange their marriage. After their marriage they got separated. In other cases as mentioned earlier, the old parents are taken care of by their sons on humanitarian ground no matter whether they stay with them or separately in their own huts. Therefore, in both these cases their stay is temporary and they do not constitute permanent members of the nuclear family.

The family, apart from being nuclear is largely monogamous. They practise polygyny rarely. During the study only six out of 414 families were found to be polygynous. Generally persons having more economic assets in the form of land, go for a second wife not for the sake of sexual enjoyment but to increase the wealth of the family. Besides, in certain conflicting situations a man may also go for a second wife to reestablish his prestige and honour. All secondary marriages are performed through capture of divorced women or widows

which involves a lower rate bride price. But under no circumstances an unmarried girl is eloped eloped.

Residence pattern

The composition of household is entirely dependent upon the rules of residence. Besides, the location of marital residence is Governed by various other factors, as economic property and inheritance pattern. Among the Bondo, the residence after marriage is established by custom and the issue does not allow any individual choice or preference. Among them the residence after marriage is patrilocal and neo-local. The newly wed couple live in the same village where the husband's paternal kins live. This means that a woman consequent upon her marriage breaks all ties with her family of orientation and gets admitted to the *Klode* (Clan) of her husband automatically. The patrilocal residence pattern helps a Bondo man to keep intimate relationship with his paternal kins and the community members of the village which promotes in strengthening of group solidarity. On rare occasions, a couple after marriage shift their residence to another locality or village. But such migration does not deter them in fulfilling their rights and obligations which they owe to their kin and the community members of the village. They remain in constant touch with their paternal kin groups and participate in all socio-religious functions by participating and contributing their share.

Descent

The Bondo society is organized, based on the principle of unilineal descent which emphasize the father's side of the family. The family is patrilineal, in which the members receive their identity through descent reckoned in the father's line. It is traced from father's to son's son through male line. To a Bondo patrilineal kinship membership is a social heridity achieved by birth only and not through addition ordinarily. By virtue of his birth in a particular family a man becomes the biological as well as jural descendant. Under the patrilineal descent system, a Bondo male inherits his name, property, liabilities, family secrets, social status from his father.

Authority

Among the Bondo, both is the management and decision making process, at the family, village and clan levels, the males enjoy considerable freedom and authority. In the family, the senior most male member acts as the head

of the household who controls family budget and takes important decisions in the matters of settlement of marriage proposals, observance of birth and death rituals, property transactions, etc. Although he enjoys absolute power in taking decisions regarding family matters, yet the views of the other family members particularly, wife is given due weightage and regard before arriving at any decision.

Functions of the Family

Among the tribesmen, the family functions as a reproductive, consumption, production and educational units. Generally, in tribal societies, the father exercises guardianship over the Children till they become major after attaining puberty. At this stage the boy is partially independent after he establishes his home and hearth after marriage he becomes fully independent. But in Bondo society, a boy even after his marriage continues to remain under the control of his father for some years. According to their custom, generally a boy of 8 to 10 years old marries a grown up girl of 16 to 18 years age. Although they live separately after marriage, the boy who is a child at that time is not strong enough to perform the heavier works independently and as such depends fully on the parents for his requirement of food grains without contributing his required quota of labour input. Because of the economic dependance, on the father the boy does not enjoy much freedom, rather remains under the control of the father till he attains adulthood. The family functions as a unit of economic co-operation maintaining a balance between production and consumption. Whatever is produced is consumed leaving hardly any surplus. Based on the principle of division of labour along sex, lines, the family members barring the small kids perform their respective economic duties. The family also functions as an institution of socialization of children. The parents not only rear their children with utmost fondness and care, but also more importantly they guide children while they learn to obtain their own living in conformity with social customs and values. In the family, the child while grows, develops his basic personality structure through its interaction with the adult members.

On the whole, the foundation of the Bondo family is built on intense love and affection, mutual help and Co-operation between its members; and such rigid bond help them together under one roof,

IV

The social life of the Bondo which is guided and regulated by their deep rooted customs, traditions and ethical values has more or less remained unaffected from the impact of modern trends of civilization. But they have changed considerably in their attitude and outlook. An

outsider is no more looked upon as stranger and greeted with shower of arrows. Neither they flee away to jungle nor hide themselves in the house on seeing him. However, the attitudinal changes, so far, have not been successful to deviate them from the traditional way and have exerted little impact on their customary practices.

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Some Aspects of Development Infrastructure in Tribal Areas

P. Venkata Rao

Successful implementation of development programmes in tribal areas will depend on the efficiency of infrastructural services. As rightly pointed by Elwin Committee, providing infrastructural services should not be an end by itself, as such services and facilities must be able to deliver the development inputs in a desirable manner.¹ The present paper examines certain aspects of the functioning of development infrastructure in a tribal area. The observations made in the paper are based on the author's study² in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, and also on other relevant studies.

Location of Infrastructural facilities

One of the objectives of Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDA) functioning from Fifth Five-year Plan period onwards is to reduce the regional imbalances in development. Special integration of backward regions necessitates adequate provision for infrastructural services to these areas. In the beginning of Sub-Plan approach, Growth Centre Approach has been envisaged for integration. For the tribal areas of Visakhapatnam district, growth centres have been identified using population threshold method.³ In practice the growth centre approach has not been seriously followed by the I. T. D. A. It is significant to note that villages along the Bus routes, and accessible by Jeeps made best use of development measures as various developmental agencies and Government departments paid better attention to these villages.⁴ The reason given for favouring road point villages is that they are easily accessible facilitating close supervision. The underlying consideration is that the visiting officials and dignitaries have little or no time to visit interior and inaccessible villages. Hence the preference is for road side villages. On a number of occasions⁵ this sort of preference has resulted in taking up the same developed village for all new schemes. For example, an earlier model village has been taken up for whole village demonstration, and in the subsequent Year, for

comprehensive development scheme. Majority of the schemes and services are located around the headquarters of I. T. D. A. and Mandals, and beneficiaries from such places are preferred. Interior and less accessible villages are lagging behind because of preference to road-point development, and discrimination against them in allocation of developmental benefits. Bitter experiences of the past unfulfilled promises make interior villagers less enthusiastic towards Government schemes. To bring all these tribals into the fold of development, these interior and less accessible villages need guidance and assistance from the development agencies, along with roads and communication facilities. Though certain services are located in the interior villages their functioning is not satisfactory. In such villages absenteeism among lower level staff is more due lack of supervision.

Distributive Justice

Major investment in tribal development has been towards agriculture and allied sectors which means land less poor getting less attention. Even among land holders, groups that are relatively better off, politically connected, and vocal made best use of the programmes. For ordinary tribal it is difficult to make use of development programmes due to lack of awareness, and inability to fulfill the procedural formalities. Assistance of knowledgeable persons who also act as mediators is essential for dealing with personnel of developmental agencies. Frequent visits have to be made to the headquarters bearing the expenses of friends and knowledgeable persons (mediators) whose accompanying is a must for the smooth receipt of developmental benefits. In the study conducted by the author, it is observed that there is increase in the utilization of development benefits, educational facilities etc., with increase in the extent of land owned by the beneficiaries. Benefits costing more and institutional credits invariably went to large farmers.

Personnel System

One of the most important factors in reaching the goals of tribal development is the adaptability of the development infrastructure to the local needs conditions. The translation of various development policies into action takes place in a particular administrative environment that has been created by the personnel system. The debate has been whether the same personnel system can deliver the goods in tribal areas and non-tribal areas. The socio-economic background and personality traits of the non-tribal employees make them feel superior to tribals resulting in unsympathetic attitude towards tribals. The values that are internalized by them are authoritarianism and superiority. Local tribals feel that they are outsiders and aliens. This is against the requirement of a human touch and down-to-earth approach that is required in tribal areas. It is the quality of interaction between personnel system and the tribal beneficiaries that decides the course of development.

One of the important features of personnel system in the tribal area is that the employees of the lower levels stay for a longer periods in a given area which enables them to work hand in hand with the local leaders. While the lower level staff are entrenched in the local area establishing connections with the tribal elite, higher officials hardly stay for sufficient time to understand what had been done earlier and the outcomes, especially who had actually benefited and to what extent. There is insufficient time to recapitulate the experiences gained earlier. This situation results in the same individuals, families, and villages taking advantage repeatedly. A number of higher level staff who stay for a short duration come on deputation. It has been observed that "temporary and too frequent changes of deputations is resulting in less experienced hands. The rapport between deputationists and regular employees is low and the latter have a common grievance against the deputationists as their promotional opportunities are hampered. The deputationists are under parent department which do not allow the receiving department to take action against them. The deputationists spend large amount of money without having to account for them." Development and welfare functions need a different kind of approach and understanding, and personnel from departments not having similar approach may not perform these functions well. In this

backdrop it worth considering the often repeated suggestion for a permanent tribal welfare cadre for tribal development.

While the infrastructure for tribal development functions as a distributing agent and servicing channel for the development process, the personnel connected with the implementation of development programmes play a crucial role in the success of development programmes. But, lack of proper roads and communication facilities restrict the efficiency of the development personnel as majority of tribal villages have bad roads and some have no roads at all. The scattered nature of the small hamlets adds to this limitation. Lack of proper facilities results in employees straying away from headquarters given to them. Hard working conditions, meager incentives, and uncooperative attitude of tribals form the prevailing grievances of employees. Under these circumstances not being able to undertake proper selection of beneficiaries and the necessary follow up action, the efforts of the personnel are directed towards achieving their targets only. In this scenario a more careful approach for continuous follow up and guidance to the beneficiaries is very much essential.

V. D. O.—The Vital Link

From the days of the Multi-purpose Projects, the strategy of tribal development underwent several changes with corresponding changes in the development administrative structure. But, the Block Organisational Form which came into existence with the C. D. Projects and N. E. S. Blocks continued to be the basic unit of programme implementation. The V.D.O. (earlier known as V. L. W.) continues to be the vital link between development administration and tribals. The V.D.O. is supposed to act as communication agent providing technical knowledge, guidance and encouragement to villagers, at the same time providing feedback to the officials. The present day V. D. O. had to adapt a different style of functioning. There is little time for extension work and follow up. Last minute and late allotment of funds forcing the development agencies to spend money in short time leaves little scope for proper planning and selection of beneficiaries. This results in V. D. O. acting mostly as a disbursement agent, for promoting various schemes in a short time, V. D. O. seeks the assistance of tribal elite who act as mediators between ordinary tribals and development agencies. In this process naturally the elite, their relatives and followers corner most of the

benefits. Extension takes a back seat as considerable amount of time is spent on paper work, meetings, accompanying higher officials and visitors.⁹ Field staff who are supposed to be in touch with people should have minimum of these works to enable them to concentrate on their work.

Co-operatives and Panchayat Raj Bodies

Co-operative credit societies and other types of co-operatives came into existence in this area along with tribal development blocks. These were established as a result of the recommendations of several experts who stressed the need to protect the tribals from the exploitation of traders and money lenders. Though good number of co-operatives exist on record, after some initial activity many of them remained either defunct or dormant for various reasons. The credit co-operatives started in different blocks lacked sufficient financial base and operational efficiency. They are non-viable as they could not maintain permanent staff due to paucity of funds. Majority of them closed down as debts were not cleared, and became defunct as elections were not held. It has been observed that tribals are getting habituated to evade repayment of loans taken from co-operatives and other credit agencies. Several studies brought to light the inadequacies and built-in constraints of the State level Gijjan Co-operative Corporation.¹⁰ On the whole the co-operatives which aroused many expectations could not reduce the importance of traders and money lenders. Forest Labour co-operatives which could have made some contribution also did not achieve any progress. Agricultural Development Banks emerged as a source of credit for land reclamation and other activities. But the coverage is not sufficient due to paucity of funds and it takes lots of procedural formalities to obtain credit from this source. In the late Seventies embry of commercial and rural banks opened a new chapter. But these units provide credit only for commercial and Development purposes. There is still large scope to revive the co-operatives to providing credit for non-developmental functions like consumption credit.¹¹

Like co-operatives, the Panchayat Raj bodies also are aimed to involve people in their own development. Of these, especially the Grama Panchayats could not take up the activities entrusted to them because of meager State grants and lack of resource base. The tribal Grama Panchayats could not tap sources like

house-tax, profession tax. Hence they are unable to provide amenities like drinking water, sanitation, street lights, etc. Majority of the tribal Grama Panchayats are involved in unauthorized and excess expenditure on certain items and do not follow procedures. This results in audit objections and related problems.¹²

Forest-based Industries

Various concessions are available to scheduled tribes for making use of forest produce. These have been given keeping in mind their dependency on such produce. Policy makers suggested that persuasive measures should be used instead of coercive measures in implementing forest regulations in tribal areas. It has also been suggested by several reports that preference may be given to tribals in employment in forest department and its activities. Establishment of forest based industries was considered as a must. The tribals in the area do not have much swartha, news about the concessions available to them. Experience shows that the over-enthusiastic forest staff of lower cadre obstruct tribals from availing the concessions given to them. This is resulting in frustration, and hostility in the attitude of tribals toward forest department. Elwin committee suggestion that there should be a Forest Extension Officer in each block to act as liaison between tribals and Government has not been taken up with the seriousness it deserved. The employment opportunities available to the tribals in activities like afforestation, conservation, protection of forests, etc. are limited when compared to the land-less tribals who need such employment. Despite suggestions by various authorities, not much progress has been achieved in establishing small scale and cottage industries making use of locally available resources. By and large the tribals remained a procurers of raw material for processing and manufacturing industries located in non-tribal areas. Though considerable potential exists in these tribal areas in terms of raw material, man power, etc., the areas lag behind in small scale and cottage industries. Utilization of forest resources and forest based raw materials would have helped the tribals to develop a more positive approach towards forest resources. The high power committee appointed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh suggested a list of industries that can be established in each district.¹⁴ The committee also suggested the steps should be taken to ensure proper training, institutional finance, necessary incentives and marketing facilities. If these recommendations can be implemented there can be a boost to industrial-

isation in this area. The establishment of industries should be related to (i) the goals of providing productive and gainful employment to the people, (ii) utilization of locally available raw material and (iii) encouragement to the tribal entrepreneurs. There are several agencies in Andhra Pradesh for the promotion of industries viz. A. P. Industrial Development Corporation A. P. State Financial Corporation, A. P. Small Scale Industries Development Corporation, A. P. Agro Industries Development Corporation, LICAP, etc. These institutions have a role to play in promoting labour intensive and agro-forest based industries in this areas.

Considerable strides have been made in providing development infrastructure in the area. But, one has to take note of the drawbacks of the delivery systems and some of the unwanted tendencies that are cropping up. There is need

for having a fresh look into the availability and utilization of services and facilities by different regions and groups with a view to minimize the imbalance between them. The problems faced by developmental personnel need to be considered on a priority basis. Development administration should convince the tribals about its will and commitment for the welfare of the people. Easy accessibility to the tribals, shedding formal and authoritarian approach while dealing with them are important here. By evincing keen interest in the needs and problems of the people, the development administration can assure the tribals that it is responsive to the aspirations of the people. At this stage the most crucial consideration should be, how best to balance between the felt needs of tribals and the requirements of planned development which need a broader and long term perspective.

NOTES

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2. Institutional Framework for Tribal Development, 1988, New Delhi: Inter India Publishers.
3. Pratap D. R. and Bosa S. 1975, "Integrated Area Development Plan For the Tribal areas Of Visakhapatnam District" In Perspectives on Tribal Development and Administration Hyderabad: NIRD.
4. For a critical appraisal of Growth Centre Approach. Please see Sharma B. D., "Growth centres in Tribal Areas" In Integrated Tribal Developments Planning, Hyderabad: NIRD, pp. 93-99.
5. This has been brought out in several studies. For example: Patnaik, N., Naidu, N. Y. and Pradhan, F. M. 1973, "Distance of VIW Circle from Block Head quarters as a Factor of Development in agency areas" Community Development and Panchayat Raj Digest, vol 4 (3), 152-157.
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6. Institutional Framework for Tribal Development, op cit, pp. 80-92
7. Sharma, B. D. 1976, "Environmental Context and the personnel system and its implications for Tribal Areas", occasional papers, New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.
8. Report of the Committee of the house to enquire into matters related to deficits and misappropriations in the Girijan Co-operative Corporation, 1976, Hyderabad: A. P. Legislative Assembly, pp. 26-27.
9. This has been also observed in the earlier reports. For example: Report on the working of T. D. Blocks in Andhra Pradesh. (memo) 1968, Hyderabad: TCR, S.T.I. p. 185-186.
10. (a) Report of the house committee, op cit, (b) Report on the A. P. Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (memo), 1968, Hyderabad: TCR & TI.
11. For a discussion on co-operatives, please see Prasada Rao & Venkata Rao, 1983, "Co-operatives in Tribal Areas", Tamilnadu Journal of Cooperation, Vol. 75, No. 3.
12. Institutional Framework for Tribal Development, op cit, pp. 74-83.
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14. Tribal Industrialization in Andhra Pradesh: A study report, n. d. (memo) Hyderabad Commissioner of Industries.

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Sanskritization to Politicisation :

The case of the Panas in Orissa

P. K. Mishra

In the process of restructuring social and economic relationships in a democratic set up, political consciousness and participation are necessary preconditions. Though social and economic equality was a distant dream for scheduled caste communities of India, yet their growing consciousness about and active participation in the political movements in the pre- and post-independence India, are a major landmark in the history of political awakening among certain groups of scheduled castes (or Harijans). Among them, the instances of Iyavse of Kerala (Aiyappan, 1944), Nadars of Tamil Nadu (Hardgrave, 1969), Jatavs of Uttar Pradesh (Lynch, 1969) and Mahars of Maharashtra (Mahar, 1972) are the most noteworthy. In the similar vein, the origin and growth of political consciousness and participation among the Harijans of Cuttack district, Orissa in general and the Panas of Dharmasal block area in particular present a fascinating and heuristic features. Therefore, this paper intends to analyse the politics of the panas of the study area in terms of their aspirations, assertion of demands and articulation of goals almost outside the institutional framework before and after the independence. The term 'politics' no doubt has multiple meaning and implications, but the conception of 'who gets what, when and how in society' (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950) has been a useful starting point for the present analysis.

The Panas are 'a class of low untouchable caste and by profession drummers' (Prasanna, 1934 : 4735). They are invariably distributed over all districts of Orissa, but in Cuttack district they are the largest of all the scheduled caste communities. Historical records disclose that they had a strong criminal tendency. The social status of the Panas in the hierarchy of rural Orissa is quite low because of lowly, stigmatized occupations and unholy communal practices (Mishra, 1992 : 341).

The social history of the study area reveals that it was almost under the control of a number of zamindars and local *Makadamidars* (Sub-proprietor) who were not only concerned with the collection of land revenue, but also wielded power over the people. They dealt with the people inspired by parochial and suppressive attitudes that largely affected normal lifestyles of different Harijan communities. The *Makadamidars* usually indulged in litigation with the people to grab land; therefore, common men were afraid of their very overbearing sight. Such was the situation prevailing in the area till the abolition of zamindari system in 1952.

Besides, in the past, the area witnessed high floods almost every year and during 1920 and 1930, the economic condition of the villagers was miserable. To overcome the economic hardship, most of the villagers, including the Panas, at frequent intervals, used to go to Calcutta and Assam for earning livelihood. There the Pana worked as menial labourers in hotels, factories, docks, public undertakings and in tea-gardens continuously for four to six months, and then they came home during peak periods of agricultural operations with the hope of getting adequate employment. In course of time, some of the out-going Pana got permanent employment in Calcutta, while some others settled in villages of West Bengal to work as agricultural labourers, water-carriers, and palanquin-bearers in the houses of well-to-do Bengali families. Most of them, as reported, somehow managed to introduce themselves to the aliens as Gauds (milkmen) by caste for evading the stigma of untouchability. These Pana also acted as the mediators for providing jobs to their relatives and friends. But later on owing to the introduction of automobiles in rural areas palanquin became obsolete; as a result, the number of Panas migrating to West Bengal in search of work as palanquin-bearers decreased.

But the ideas, awareness and economic support they had in Bengal enabled some of them to lead independently. By that time, they were not only enlightened, but also became conscious of their socio-political rights. Later, these enlightened Pana made their caste men conscious of certain fundamental rights by inculcating among them such ideas. They also organised clandestine meetings in several villages to fight against untouchability by emulating the elements of *sanatization*. Consequently they came in contact with the Pana leaders of wider areas and gradually non-political Harijan organisations emerged in the area.

In the wake of Gandhi's National Movement, several educated *sayanas* of the State voluntarily joined the Congress sacrificing their education, salaried service, business and their family interests. Among them Nabakrushna Choudhury, Rama Devi, Gopabandhu Choudhury and others took the responsibility of launching agitations in the State of Orissa as per the direction of Gandhi. N. K. Choudhury, who later became the Chief Minister of Orissa, established an ashram at Bari, Cuttack district. The ashram was the occasional meeting place of the Congress workers of the State. The impact of the activities of the ashram had profound influence on the Harijans, particularly on the Panas of the area.

Owing to their widespread distribution and numerical strength, the Panas appeared to be more vigilant of the situation than other categories of Harijans. Initially the Congress workers (or freedom fighters) were mostly from the *sayana* *jatis*, who later accepted certain enthusiastic Pana as their party co-workers; thereafter a significant number of Panas voluntarily participated in the scheduled meetings, *satyagrahas*, and processions held at Cuttack Town and other places of the district along with the *sayana* leaders. Such political interaction considerably reduced the feeling of discrimination between the *sayana* and Harijan participants. This was possible due to the impact of Gandhi's policy, which aimed at bringing unity among the Indians before launching the 'Quit India Movement' in 1942. However, the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1921, and the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 had very little impact on Harijans of the area. Rather the *padayatra* (foot-march) movement of Gandhi in 1934 earned remarkable

achievement in Orissa. He not only walked through various coastal villages from Puri to Bhadrak with hundreds of followers to rouse mass consciousness, but also left behind a number of dedicated followers, who were responsible for the realisation of Harijans in Orissa.

Soon after the *padayatra* movement, the Harijan of the area joined immense confidence to carve out the strategies for their liberation and reformation by conducting meetings openly. During 1936, the meetings convened at Mahabhinayak, Ankhespur and Chhatia in Cuttack district adopted resolutions to uplift the social status of Harijans. Their first and foremost task was to eschew the practice of eating beef, onion and other polluting substances. In order to purge the caste of the sin committed in the past, it was decided to open *goshals* for taking care of old and feeble cattle, to start performing *astaprahar* (a vaishnavite religious chanting), and to build *dharmaśāla* (inn). One of the in which now exists at Chhatia had been completed in 1948 by the Pana subscribers.

In the meetings held at Nemala and Balichandrapur in 1945 the Panas decided to institute specialized ritual service centres corresponding to the *sayana* model, such as barber and washerman, who were to be selected from their own *jati*. It was also decided that for their settlement, *gharadiha* (homestead land) would be made available to them in the villages of Pana-balaneb (Pana-priest) in order to facilitate contact with them while seeking their services. This resolution was not unanimously accepted as the onus of maintenance rested with all. Although Bahadurbandhu Mallick (Pana) of Kotapur village forged ahead with the proposal, he failed to make much headway owing to the pecuniary constraints of the Pana residents. Another important issue discussed there was that the Pana-balaneb should not only accept water and food from their *lejmanas* (clients), but also should come forward to perform funeral rites. Furthermore, they should give up ploughing and solely cater to the need of the clients. Some of the educated Pana were allowed to profess priesthood after receiving necessary training at Puri. Besides these, many other resolutions were passed in various meetings, which have been mentioned briefly in the following pages.

After Independence :

It was observed that the Congress workers in power did not discharge the responsibility assumed by Gandhiji, so Vinoba Bhave took up the cause to improve the conditions of the poor, landless and down-trodden people by launching Bhoodan (land-gift) Movement in 1951. Its three-fold objective was 'the decentralisation of power from village to village, right on land and property for all, and no distinction in the matter of wages' (Bhave, 1955). Further he advocated that 'we should treat others in the same manner as we want to be treated by them. So also we must behave towards society as we aspire to be treated by it' (ibid.).

In Orissa, the Bhoodan Movement was geared up from 1952 under the leadership of Gopabandhu Choudhury and Rama Dail. However, the momentum of this movement was vigorous in the coastal districts, particularly in Cuttack. It resulted in developing the sense of economic independence as well as self-respect and dignity by adopting the pledge of the Movement.

Before the initiation of Bhoodan Movement, in the year 1945-47, the Communist and Socialist parties organised a number of Kisan Sabha (peasant-rally) at Dhamasala, Salepur and Mangalpur of Cuttack. They demanded the abolition of the Zamindari system, which resulted in the formulation of Orissa Tenants Protection Act of 1948 to benefit the peasants. Consequently Orissa Estate Abolition Act of 1952 and Orissa Tenants Relief Act of 1955 brought a remarkable change in abolishing the Zamindari system. Further in 1930, the Orissa Land Reform Act offered right of ownership of land to the actual tillers. All these anti-Zamindari protests and legal procedures paved a smooth way for the Harijans to press their just demands by forming groups and organisations along with Savarna leaders.

Aside from the land reforms, the most significant impact was that the important Congress and Bhoodan workers of the State often assembled to organise meetings at various places, where the workers took an oath to shun the prejudices of untouchability against their Harijan Co-villagers. Some of the workers vowed to marry Harijan women and they actually did it to fulfil the dream of Gandhiji. The marriage of Brundaban Tripathy (Brahman) with Sabiri Malik (Pana) was a bright example of an inter-

caste marriage in the area. At Binjharpur an ashram came into existence where the Savarna and Harijan workers stayed and dined together. It was intended to forge unity between higher and lower caste groups. Such instances inspired the Harijan leaders and the common Harijans as well to carry out the anti-untouchability programmes in their respective villages. The Harijans to some extent were successful in their mission because they secured adequate support from certain radical Savarna leaders of their locality. That apart the Savarna leaders motivated the Harijans to eschew their traditional impure practices in meetings convened in different areas from time to time, and also requested the Savarna on mass to refrain from imposing discriminatory restrictions against the Harijans. Indramani Jena, a Savarna Congress worker of Kotapur village engaged a Harijan (Pana) servant in his house to fetch water from his well, to clean utensils, rooms and clothes as a major step towards eradication of untouchability. Although he belonged to the Zamindar lineage, he was specially boycotted for breach of caste norms: but it had a great impact on the Hindu society. During 1950, Indramani induced the Pana to discontinue the *bhet* (gift) on Sunia (Oriya New Year's Day), *bethi* (forced labour) and the *Lokapur* (exclusive contract labour) system in the village. He also invited Congress workers to organise meetings in Kotapur, and urged the landlords Harijans not to give any revenue to the Zamindars.

Moreover, during that time, Sabiri Tripathy launched a week-long social reform programme at the Harijan wards of different villages. She herself stayed with the people and trained the Pana women in the use of Charkha (Spinning Wheel), *Savapali* latrine, cloth-stitching, cooking methods, child-rearing practices, cleaning of houses and *amreta*, and also discussed the appropriate conduct and behaviour for both sexes. Similar programmes were conducted for a year in different Harijan settlements in order to induce the Harijans to refine their life-styles.

During 1950-55, Harijans organised their men and took up specific actions for ameliorating their lot by forming local and regional organisations. Under the leadership of local Harijan and Savarna leaders, both formal and informal meetings were conducted repeatedly at Brahadeshi market place. It was found that various members of caste Hindus in a sizeable number attended the meetings without fee,

because of the involvement of local *savarna* leaders. Had it been organised by the Harijans only, not to speak of other caste Hindus, even most of the Harijans would not have attended the meetings. This was because they had hardly any confidence in their own leaders.

Particularly after the abolition of Zamindari system in 1953 in response to Orissa Estate Abolition Act of 1952 and due to a growing awareness about constitutional safeguards, the Harijans fostered strength and ventured to undo traditional practices one after another. Chaturbhuj Malik (Pana), Congress worker of Bandhudiha village headed a procession to enter into the local *Sapneswar* temple. It succeeded as some *savarna* leaders accompanied them. Likewise the Harijans made consistent endeavour to use the wells, tanks, bathing ghats, tea-stalls, etc., the use of which once denied to them. Besides such endeavours the following resolutions, the outcome of the decisions taken in various meetings, were adopted as an indication of departure from the traditional bondage of the Harijans,—

1. to educate all boys and girls up to primary level;
2. to act in accordance with the Constitutional provisions, particularly at all public places, inspite of being intimidated by the *Savarna*;
3. to demand equal wage for both men and women workers for similar work;
4. to prohibit unmarried and newly married women to work in houses of their patrons;
5. to keep their dress, house and courtyard clean;
6. to give up the practice of drum-beating, mock-dancing and acrobatic feats, etc. along with their children and if performed proper treatment from the *hyst* should be sought;
7. to refrain from pilfering grains from fields during night;
8. (a) to forsake the habit of seeking *Mala-dhara* (polluted rice owing to death), *Pua-pakale* (leftovers), *Dajji* (impure steeped rice), etc., which are considered as very impure food;
- (b) to eschew forbidden food and liquor;

(c) refusal to accept food served in used earthenwares, like *chhehla* (spilled and broken earthen wares) but to accept food served in metallic utensils;

(d) to refuse to attend ceremonial feasts, if called without appropriate *nimatrana* (formal invitation),

(e) to abstain from attending feasts when intoxicated;

9. to appoint men from amongst their *Jati* for rendering ritual services of barber and washerman,
10. to engage *pana-bainsab* (Priest) for conducting *saja-kriya* (mortuary rites) as done among the higher *savarna* *Jatis*;
11. to worship the *Brundavati* (household goddess of well-being) by raising *Tulsi* plant by each family regularly,
12. to organise *Astapahari* at regular intervals at all Harijan streets and hamlets;
13. to abstain from worshipping *genda* (cyster) on the occasion of *Gambha Purnima*, and to worship *badi* (club) in place of *dhol* (drum) on the occasion of *Durga Puja*;
14. to eschew pig-sacrifice at *Mangala* deity when a groom proceeds for marriage;
15. to refrain from serving liquor to the guest, relatives and other invitees on ceremonial occasions;
16. to observe death-pollution as obligatory for the married women of the in-law lineage while they are at their respective father's houses ; and
17. to do away with the following chores conducted for *savarna* patrons—
 - (a) levelling and smearing of unused grounds for ceremonial use;
 - (b) supply of banana leaves on ceremonial occasions;
 - (c) carrying of death news to near and distant relatives of the deceased;
 - (d) carrying of fire wood to the funeral pyre,
 - (e) erection of *agave* (bambo) at *dasa-ghata* (platform made outside the settlement near a water reservoir to conduct mortuary rites on the tenth day), and
 - (f) observance of death-pollution of the patron by consuming *pila* (bitter pollution food), and shaving of head and face with a purificatory bath to purge the pollution,

These resolutions adopted in a series of meetings had a lasting impact on the Panas of Cuttack district and, in fact, it facilitated horizontal ties as well as strengthened *jar*/ solidarity. It was also reported that during that time there was a noticeable reduction of traditional mutual distrust and antagonism between the Panas of different Zmindari areas. Thus the most formidable achievement was that the Pana identified and projected themselves as the only determined Harijan class in the district aspiring to elevate social status.

The goal of status elevation through Sanskritisation among the Panas in later stages of social development seemed to appear rather weak since they mostly developed aspirations for gaining higher respectability by adopting secular means. The functioning of political parties, C. D. Blocks, Grama Panchayats, schools and hostels, and above all, the constitutional back up not only increasingly required their representation and nominal participation, but also provided greater impetus towards politicisation which was overwhelmingly considered to be the alternative strategy to strengthen their caste identity, solidarity and the path of positive status mobility.

Era of Politicisation :

Political parties in the region brought forth new avenues and opportunities to the Panas with a view to bringing them into the political stream of Orissa. The strong hold of traditional socio-political system was profoundly impaired by the enlarged spheres of economic interactions, political participation and politicisation of mass other communities. The party organisations became active to mobilise Harijan members into wider spheres of interaction where caste discriminations were hardly allowed to intervene. As a result, the Panas came to realise that they could mitigate their low ritual status through power politics. Thus, an era of politicisation was ushered in among the Harijan class who initiated attempts to wield political power through all possible 'political action' we have here precisely meant political action as an "art of manipulating... various dyadic relations so as to create effective and visible bodies of support; in other words, so as to create corporate political followings" (Barth, 1959:4). The process of politicisation during the post-independence period was remarkably different and intricate for Harijan class as their successive political actions mostly converged on, nourished by and rooted deeply in the party politics.

It is a fact that the Congress is known to many as the oldest political party of the country and for its role in the freedom struggle. It is again gathered that the party structure continue to influence and inspire most Harijan members to develop political allegiance and a feeling of belongingness by maintaining a continuous link between the people and the local party agents. Even now the Harijans have unflinching faith in the party since its socio-economic policies are mostly pro-poor. Despite that, some sections of Harijan communities have also owed their political allegiance to other national parties as those fight against the existing socio-economic inequalities.

According to Weiner, a party seeks to adapt to the local environment to win elections; this is mentioned here because a party usually maintains a policy to recruit candidates from among those who have a local power base and influence. It has been observed that Harijan candidates for the reserved constituencies are generally recruited by the party High Command with the consent of the local leaders of the party. The mode of selection vividly reflect that Harijan recruits in most cases arrive as junior partners of the local party leaders who virtually influence and dictate them to fulfil their ends. There are instances where the Harijan leaders got aligned with various factions of the ruling or opposition parties and settled for minor concessions such as distribution of development resources in their areas to gain public approbation and support, instead of doing something more tangible for their own community. Nevertheless, they seldom receive appropriate backing from the upper caste electoral masses due to their low social standing and traditional subservience. Under the circumstances they voluntarily choose a party that not only takes the responsibility of protecting the interests of Harijans, but also provides all possible assistance to them to win an election. There has been a growing tendency among the Harijan leaders to be sponsored by National Parties rather than facing the electorate as independent candidates.

The analysis of Table 1 indicates that politics and power which had remained confined to a small coterie of upper castes before independence have now percolated to the Harijans through successive general elections. The Table further supports that the Harijans as a group have increased their political action not only to bargain for a better position in society,

but have also influenced various governments of Orissa to induct some of their influential leaders into the cabinet in order to open avenues for participation in the socio-political development of the State. There are ample evidences that since the mid 60's, Harijans have successfully manipulated their organisational ability to win more than one berth in the subsequent ministries. Moreover, Harijan legislators constitute a significant part in the power structure within both Congress and other parties

of Orissa. Records of Orissa Legislative Assembly of various years show that they have been representing national parties like CPI, CPI (M), Janata Dal, Lok Dal, as well as local parties. Some independent minded Harijans also wanted to test their strength as independent candidates against their upper caste counterparts. Thus, electoral politics has not only enhanced political awareness and participation, but also has reached a new dimension of political development among the Harijans.

TABLE 1

Caste Leaders in Ministries of Orissa (1937—1994)

Year	Bramhan	Karan	Kashatriya	Khandayat	Harijan	Adibasi	Muslims	Others	Total
1937(i)	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	3
1937(ii)	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1941	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	3
1946	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	5
1948	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	5
1950	3	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	8
1952	2	2	3	3	1	1	..	1	13
1956	2	1	4	3	1	1	1	..	13
1957	2	1	3	2	1	2	..	1	12
1959	5	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	11
1961	2	1	1	3	1	3	..	2	13
1963	3	1	1	2	2	3	..	2	14
1965	4	1	1	4	1	2	1	2	16
1967	5	3	1	2	2	5	..	1	19
1971	5	2	4	1	2	9	..	2	25
1972	4	2	..	1	5	3	..	..	15
1974	5	1	1	4	3	3	..	1	18
1976	5	1	1	4	3	3	1	..	18
1977	2	2	1	4	1	4	1	..	15
1980	2	6	1	4	2	2	1	1	19
1985	3	3	1	3	2	4	1	1	18
1986	4	3	..	3	2	6	3	1	22
1992	3	3	2	8	2	2	1	1	22
1994	2	2	2	8	2	3	1	1	21

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Tribal-Non-Tribal Interaction in Orissa :

A study of Karma Festival in Sambalpur

C. Pasayat

There was a time when culture was seen as a body of information only. All that the scholars had to do was to collect the data which would speak for themselves. In course of time this gave way to the importance of theory on culture which was subsequently related to the collection and interpretation of data. Also, the patterns and trends of change were gathered from this data. Thus, culture was not confined to merely a body of information. Today, much attention has been paid to the interpretation of data which is closely tied to the theory of explanation that attempts to study the data more analytically. As Thapar (1987 : 7) writes in the context of the study of history, in case of culture also, the change of focus becomes imperative either when there is new data on culture and change therein or when the process of interpreting the culture and change therein undergoes change. In this paper, it is primarily the latter which suggests a re-assessment.

Although tribal people have been generally found in relative isolation, in Orissa and elsewhere in India, they have not been completely shut off from contact with the greater society or greater culture community like the caste Hindus of India. Tribal people have been in continuous touch with the Caste Hindus and have been influenced by each other in various facets of social life (Sinha, 1968; Singh, 1972; Behura and Mohanty, 1980). But, Sanskritization, Aryanization and Hinduization are widely introduced and developed by the scholars with a view to understand cultural change among tribal people in India. Such literature suffers from a bias because it describes social and cultural change necessarily through the Brahminical models which suggests that tribal people have only emulated some customs of the Brahmins and discarded some of their own,

Contrary to this prominent view, we can not ignore the fact that caste-Hindus have also been more or less influenced by the tribal people in different parts of the country throughout the history. Empirical studies have yielded evidence corroborating this view. Both Sanskritic as well as non-sanskritic elements are found co-existing in a given empirical situation, although the former has received more attention. As a matter of fact, the importance of the phenomenon of sanskritization found in a few places, was blown out of proportion. What we want to point out here is that in some cases certain preconceived theories and conclusions continue to be reiterated even if the data does not support them fully. The persistence of such theories or models becomes a form of mythmaking where the persistence serves a purpose other than that of logical and rational explanation on cultural change. In view of this, neither sanskritization nor tribalization exclusively is found to be helpful in explaining and understanding this process of culture change. There is every possibility of tribal and Hindu elements co-existing in a given cultural item such as festival. The co-existence may be due to sanskritization and vice versa.

In this paper our endeavour is to study the transformation of a tribal deity in to a Hindu one. It may be surmised here that the admission of the tribal ritual festival in to a local Hindu world may come about without any drastic change in the core elements of the tribal ritual festival. The transformed ritual festival may get a place in the existing religious structure of the local Hindu society. This transformation may occur without any structural change in the social status of either the tribal people or the caste Hindus participating in the tribal festival in that area.

I am grateful to Prof. T. K. Gommen and Prof. K. K. Mohanti for their valuable suggestions on the earlier draft of this paper.

It may be suggested here that the Hindu-religio-cultural structure is a device by which dances and ritual festivals other than that of caste Hindus are accepted in to the Hindu religion. There are two assumptions in this paper. First, the process of sanskritization is ultimately linked with the process of tribalization i. e. transformation of a tribal ritual festival into Hindu one and thereby its admission in to the larger Hindu society. It means that there is a fusion of two processes of sanskritization and tribalization which appear to be contrasting but complementary processes of cultural change. An element of tribal culture needs to be transformed into a local caste culture, as an essential first step for it to be admitted in to a greater Hindu society or vice versa. Our second assumption is that transformation or change does not necessarily mean addition of sanskritic elements and subsequent replacement of tribal elements or vice versa; rather this means a harmonious co-existence of both tribal as well as sanskritic elements in an empirical situation. The incorporation of tribal ritual festival in to the Hindu fold may be viewed as tribalization. But the degree of incorporation is directly linked with the amount of sanskritic elements in the deity.

In order to examine the above formulation we will study the Karma festival of Gainpura village which is interior, isolated and predominantly a tribal village close to the jungle and 30 Kms. away from the urban centre of Sambalpur in Orissa. Nearly eighty per cent of the villagers belong to Kandha tribe. Since the tribal religious tradition of early period in Sambalpur is unrecorded, our present study on Karma festival is mainly based on our empirical data and oral literature collected from Gainpura village in the year 1990.

Karma festival is widely prevalent among the tribal people of central and eastern India. Though it is more a tribal festival, it is well within the fold of the Sambalpur folk tradition. The numerous tribes of the states namely, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal celebrate this festival. In Orissa, it is celebrated with splendid display in the tribal dominated hilly, forested and inland districts like Balangir, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur and Sundergarh etc. Generally, Karma is observed in the month of Bhadrawa (August—September). It may also be celebrated at other times of the year. Unlike the caste-Hindus the tribal people have not developed any proper system of reckoning with time (Bhaduri,

1944: 148). For instance, while Karma is the spring dance of the Gonds, Kols and Baigas of Raipur (Verma, 1973: 123), it is known as May Day festival among the Osans in Raipur of Madhya Pradesh and celebrated when the rice is ready for planting (Guru, 1976: 101). In some tribal societies, Karma is celebrated on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Bhadrawa which corresponds to the date fixed for *Parava Ekadasi* of the caste-Hindus. However, this is one of the very few tribal festivals for which the people follow a definite time in some areas. This indicates some influence of the Hindu system of celebration of festivals on tribal people.

Karma is a beautiful example of 'tree worship' among the tribal people in central and eastern India. The adorable deity of Karma festival is Karamsani who is represented by a twig branch called *Karma dai*. This type of personification of a branch as *dai* is not surprising as trees have held a special place in the spiritual tradition of Ancient India. The Indian History and mythology evidence the fact that trees have been associated with various deities and endowed with supernatural powers to cure diseases and prevent natural calamities. Besides, trees have played a vital role in the field of human welfare and they are doing so even now. Therefore, from the very beginning of life, trees have been considered as revered and absolutely essential for human kind. With the passage of time, when the idea of God associated with trees has originated in the human mind he has started worshipping tree as a symbolical representation of God or unseen power residing in it. It may be noted here that the tree worship has begun before the dawn of history. It is supposed to be one of the earliest forms of religious life in Ancient India. It was quite common in the third or fourth millennium B. C., when there was a highly evolved Harappan culture (Sinha, 1979: 32). Thus, the tree has been the best friend of human being even in the prehistoric period (Sinha, 1979: 14). Nevertheless, it is through the worship of the trees that both tribal people and caste Hindus have attempted to approach and propitiate God in India. Both the trees and human beings have sought mutual advantages in exchanging goods and services and even in religious and ceremonial performances at least at the folk level (Gupta, 1980: 8).

It may be noted here that Karamsani can be identified with a twig branch of different trees in the same of different tribal groups or twig branch of different trees in the same tribal group in different places. For example, in Sambalpur, the deity is represented by a branch of *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) tree. The Nagas of Chhatisgarh in Madhya Pradesh (Danda, 1984: 139) and the Oraon of Chhotanagpur (Sahay, 1976:99) and the Mundas (Roy, 1944:149) and the Santal of Chhotanagpur (Culshaw, 1939:427-32) areas worship *Adina Cardifolia* on the occasion of Karamsani puja. Further, the Oraons of Chhotanagpur worship twigs of *Kend* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) failing that of either *Sindur* (*Vitex negundo*) plant or a *Sakhus* (*Shorea Robusta*) tree or of the *Pial* (*Buchanania Latifolia*) shrub (Ray, 1915:144-5). It is to be noticed that the tree worship is prevalent among the Hindus too but in their case the identification of a tree with that of a God/Goddess is almost fixed. For instance, the Tulsi tree (*Ocimum Sanctum*) is dedicated to Brundabai, Bel (*Aegle marmelos*) is associated with Lord Siva and the like.

As it has been said earlier, the twig branch of *Sal* tree is worshipped as Karamsani in Sambalpur. This identification may be analysed both from economic as well as religious point of view. Needless to say that tribal people in general prefer to inhabit in rural and jungle areas and on the fringe and depend largely on forests. As found elsewhere, traditionally tribal economy as well as society is so closely interrelated with the forests that tribal people cannot visualise a life without forests, which not only provide food, fodder and fruits to them but also satisfy their deep-rooted sentiments and socio-cultural needs (Jha and Sen, 1991). Very likely, tree variation mentioned above among tribal people is due to the availability of tree and also its economic significance in a particular area. For instance, in Sambalpur it is the twig branch of *Sal* tree which is worshipped during Karma Puja. History reveals that Sambalpur is ideally suited to tribal inhabitations for centuries. The forests in the district extend over more than one third of its geographical area. Also the *Sal* trees in the forest is the principal species which is preponderant covering more than 70 per cent of crops (Senapati and Mohanti, 1971:3). The wood of this tree is most durable and resistant to attacks of white ants. Traditionally, it is one of the most useful timbers used by rural and tribal people for construction of house, well, boat,

furniture, carts, carriages, etc. Besides it is used for railway sleepers, bridges construction, tent poles etc. The bark is used as a tanning material. The stem exudes a gum which is used for various purposes. Today it is used in the manufacture of shoe polishes, carbon papers, type writer ribbons and in the inferior quality of paints and varnishes. Oil distilled from the gum is used in the manufacture of perfumes and incenses. *Sal* butter, obtained from the seeds, is used as a cooking agent (Sinha, 1979:28). Since forest has been occupying an important place in the tribal economy, it may be suggested that *Sal*, which is abundantly found and which has also great economic value, is personified as Karamsani.

From religious point of view, it may be suggested that use of a twig branch of *Sal* tree in Sambalpur may be due to some impact of Buddhism. According to the legend, Lord Buddha died in a grove of *Sal* trees. Also, the *Sal* tree is associated with his birth. It is because of these associations that *Sal* tree is regarded as most sacred by the Buddhists (Sinha 1979:28). It may be noted here that in ancient period, tantric Buddhism flourished in Sambalpur area, Buddhist monks had set up innumerable centres in this area. Today, most of the ruins are found in the forest and hill tops which are inaccessible and richly inhabited by tribal people (Senapati and Mohanti, 1971:43,446). Besides, some of the Karma songs are in *Malashree rag* which is reportedly used in the tantric form of the mother worship. In view of this, the possible link between the Buddhism and the uniconical image (*Sal* tree) of Karamsani deity may be taken into consideration which needs more research and analysis.

Be that as it may, Karamsani has been regarded as the Goddess of vegetation, fertility and destiny. She is worshipped by both the tribal people and caste Hindus in the village. People of nearby villages namely Hums, Dhams, Khinda, Belpur etc. use to attend the annual festival observed on the eleventh day of bright fortnight in the month of Shadava. People believe that by worshipping Karamsani, they would get a good crop, the childless would get a child; they would be protected from all sorts of diseases, misfortunes, natural calamities and would live a very prosperous, happy and wealthy life. Above all, the puja is celebrated for general well-being of the people. Thus, the root of this festival is to be found in the name of Karamsani.

as the Goddess of fortune, Karamsani is believed to have a dual personality. On the one hand she is a gracious mother and on the other, a ferocious power; on one side she is the saviour, of preserver the tribal society, provider of their welfare and thereby merciful towards people and on the other as destroyer, Nee-with-standing, the religious consciousness of the tribal people is in a stage where they regard the various natural as well as unnatural phenomena as living deities pressing tremendous will and power. They visualise them in various forms and worship them. Their powerful and unrestrained imagination have conceived the origin and growth of the universe and the relations between the various natural or unnatural phenomena in the form of myths about the Gods and Goddesses.

On the occasion, the tribal priest, young girls and boys observe fasting and go to the jungle where they trace out the Kham tree from where a twig branch is to cut off. They have to beg pardon for the injury they are about to inflict on it. The priest invokes Karamsani and then cuts a branch from the tree. The twig should have five or seven leaves. It should not have touched the earth or affected by insects. The priest winds a red or yellow thread on the twig which is brought to the village by the young boys and girls followed by dancing and singing.

The Karam dal is kept in the middle of the *bedi* (altar) meant for puja. In the evening the priest worships the branch. The village folk sit down surrounded with great enthusiasm and devotion. Most of them keep Karma *brata* or religious vows. The priest offers fried rice, vermillion, rice-beer and the blood of a fowl to the deity. The sound of *hul hul* or ululation (a sound of joy made by women with the mouth which emits a shrill sound) lends a magical charm to the atmosphere. However, the mode of worshiping is very simple. After that the priest tells the villagers a story in the glory of Karamsani. The songs are sung intermittently, the dance and *Madal* (one type of musical drum) provide the rhythm and music. Some songs are in praise of Kali, Bhawani, Rudrani or Karamsani (the terrific aspects of Sekti). It indicates brahminical influence over the Karma songs.

The Karma festival ends next day with the ceremonial procession of the deity from the place of performance. The Karma dal is taken to the door of every household. It is a mark of explaining them from all sins and sufferings and blessings them also. Essentially, this practice

creates an impact on the villagers by strengthening their belief and devotion to Karamsani.

Karma is observed on various occasions. 'Bahma Karma' is held in times of crop failure and drought which are caused by *Bahma*, a kind of insect which destroys the crops. It is also called Karamsani. At this time the people collect money from each household and observe Karma Puja to appease deity to save their crops which is supposed to sustain their life for the next full year. The other type of celebration is meant for releasing from mundane sufferings, getting off springs and so on. Thus, Karma Puja is celebrated in times other than the day of Bhadrava Ekadasi to get blessings of Karamsani and to recover from untold sufferings or miseries.

In keeping with age-old tradition, boys and girls dance together. Spectators both caste-Hindus and tribal people come from nearby villages. From the social point of view it is an important occasion to settle marriage relationships and to select spouses. It may be noted here that the tribal people have a priestly family of their own. The head of the household performs rituals and offers sacrifices to Karamsani Devi. Like a Brahmin priest the tribal priest has no special sacred language or Mantra to chant to invoke the deity. He employs the language of every day life. Since the past five to six years, the villagers have been inviting a Brahmin priest from nearby village Dhams to assist the tribal priest in the Puja. Needless to say that Karma forms the cultural link between the tribal people and Hindus in Gairpur village (Paseyat, 1991: Singh, 1982). Caste Hindus are found offering vegetarian items like rice, ghee, fruits, etc. while the tribal people are generally found offering Kurne, cock and he-goat besides other items. Caste-Hindus also contribute money in the form of *chanda*. They also accept *prasad* or the consecrated offerings at the end of the puja. Some of them are found accepting Kurne and meat of he-goat only as *prasad*. Thus, there are significant contribution and participation of caste-Hindus in the annual and occasional worship of Karamsani in the month of Bhadrava.

After the ritual part is over, the festival part starts. The entire night is spent in drinking and dancing. The *Kurne* is a home-made rice-beer extensively used on the occasion. The young boys and girls drink, sing and dance collectively till the dawn round the Karam Dal. All these may appear awkward to an outsider. But the meaning and understanding of an outsider does not carry any significance for them. Because it is

their tradition. This is an occasion for merry-making for the young boys and girls. It is a time which provides them ample opportunities to know and understand one another. Consequently, they are able to select their life partner.

In a changing situation the educated tribal people who are influenced by the urban culture generally hesitate to dance before a large audience. Further those tribal people who are christianised, a lot of restrictions are imposed on them in the matters of dancing, consuming liquor and animal sacrifice. This phenomenon suggests that how onslaught of modernization/urbanisation affects the basic cultural ethos of tribal lives.

Scholars like Vidyarthi (1969:179), Roy and Roy (1937:341), Singh (1962:106—12), Sinha (1982:114—5), etc. hold the view that Karam festival is borrowed from the caste-Hindus. Others (Bhaduri, 1944:149) opine that it is essentially tribal in origin and, over the years, the ritual part of it has been Sanskritized to some extent. However, Karma festival is prevalent among the Scheduled castes. It could best be assumed that originally the tribals were celebrating the festival but gradually the Scheduled castes who were living in close contact with the tribal people shared the traits of this festival.

Based on an exploratory study it appears reasonable to provide certain characteristics of Karamsanil on the basis of our previous discussion, empirical data and observation as given below:

(1) Karamsanil is worshipped in the form of natural object, i. e., twig branch of *Saf* tree. She does not have a definite shape and size. She is not represented as anthropomorphic icon i. e., she is not worshipped in human form as deities of the Hindu pantheon are commonly worshipped.

(2) Like Hindu deity, Karamsanil is not enshrined in the temple. She is worshipped on an open *bedi* or altar made on the occasion of Puja.

(3) Like Hindu mode of worship, regular or daily puja is not performed for Karamsanil. Besides the annual worship, the puja occasionally performed in honour of Karamsanil is simple which does not require any *Mashe*, *homa*, or *yajna* of brahminical type.

(4) Karamsanil descends through a male spirit-possessor unlike the deities of Hindu pantheon. It is widely acknowledged that

possession of human beings by the Karamsanil is one form of communication between the deity and the villagers where the deity communicates through the human mediums. It is part of worship of Karamsanil. The villagers approach the *Barwa* (spirit-possessor) of Karamsanil who answers their questions and prescribes the solutions of their problems.

(5) As it has been discussed above, the available literature reveals that Karamsanil is not a local/village divinity. Popularity of Karamsanil and rituals associated with her are found in almost all the major tribal groups in Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal.

(6) Karamsanil is propitiated rather than adored. She is cruel in nature. Visitation of diseases, famine, wild animals, etc. are attributed to her and special sacrifices and festivals are held to induce her to remove the scourge. The ritual unity of the village is prominent during such situations.

(7) Karamsanil is worshipped for curing diseases, well being of the children, ensuring good crops, restoring hope and confidence among the people. Thus Puja is a means to achieve an end. People aim at securing success in the chase and bountiful harvests. The annual worship in the month of Bhadrawa marks an important stage in the agricultural operations and calendar in the village.

(8) Karamsanil is considered to living in the village Gaipura.

(9) Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian offerings are made to Karamsanil. Cock and her goat are usually sacrificed to her. Significantly, *Kusna* (rice-bear) is also offered to Karamsanil. It may be noted here that cock and *Kusna* are considered as lowest category of sacrificial objects by the caste-Hindus and they do not offer these things. But they generally make vegetarian offerings. Participation of caste-Hindus and offering of vegetarian food are an indication of Sanskritising the deity. The communal worship of Karamsanil does not exhaust the villagers' expression of their ritual unity. The majority of tribal people and the minority of caste Hindus in Gaipura come together at the time of annual worship. Thus, Karma Puja has a socio-religious function to bring both tribal people and the caste Hindus into one common platform.

(10) Earlier Karamsani was worshipped by a non-brahmin priest i. e., a Kandha priest. Now-a-days, a brahmin priest is also invited to assist the tribal priest which is a clear indication of sanskritic influence.

(11) Though Karamsani is propitiated by many tribal people and their neighbouring caste-Hindus, she is not universal. The status of Karamsani is largely dependent on the interpretation of the priest. The myth prevalent in Gaipura tries to make her an universal deity. She is identified with Sakti and her various forms like Durga, Rudrani, Bhawani, etc. It is another instance of process of sanskritisation, which has transformed Karamsani in to a deity of great Hindu tradition.

(12) Karma Puja is held annually on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight in the month of Bhadrawa. Through Karma Puja is observed on other occasions as discussed earlier, the fixed time of annual worship indicates some influence of Hindu tradition on tribal tradition.

The present study has yielded evidence corroborating sanskritic as well as non-sanskritic elements in Karma festival of Gaipura village. Despite the introduction of a Brahmin priest annual celebration of Karma festival on a fixed day of the year, production of a Hindu myth, participation of caste-Hindus and offering of vegetarian foods, lack of knowledge about a proper system of reckoning time for the Karma Puja on other occasions, uniconical image of Karamsani, absence of idol worship, absence of daily Puja, absence of the idea of temple, the sacrifice of animals like cock and fowl, libations of rice-beer to Karamsani, ritual worship by tribal priest, role of spirit-possessor, and wide popularity and prevalence of the Karma festival largely among the tribal people etc. together prove the fact that the Karma festival has a large amount of tribal elements. In this line, it may be said that the admission of a tribal festival like Karamsani in to the local Hindu society has

come about without any drastic change in the core elements of the tribal festival. However, the tribal festival is being accepted by the caste-Hindus, who give it a Hindu status by sanskritising its ceremonial process and by creating a Hindu myth. It means tribalisation is followed by sanskritisation. Although, caste-Hindus celebrate the tribal festival and worship the tribal deity, they do not see it as a case of desanskritisation or tribalisation and thereby decrease in their social status. On the other hand, it could also be argued that Karamsani is a tribalised version of a Hindu deity or God. The tribalisation of God is necessary because only then she would become acceptable to the tribal people. Tribal borrowings of Hindu cultural items have been converted and realigned to fit pre-existing cultural needs.

In both the cases, it was perhaps, a diplomatic move by the dominant caste-Hindus to maintain their supremacy in the society. Moreover, it was policy of appeasement to maintain the status quo as well as traditional social hierarchy in the society. Seen in this context, the elements of great Hindu tradition in order to perpetuate themselves, have moved and mixed with the elements of tribal tradition. The tribal tradition has a lot of cultural resilience because instead of being overpowered or completely submerged, it has added up to the Hindu tradition. Moreover, it is believed to be helpful in promoting Karma Puja in the area inhabiting both tribal people as well as caste-Hindus. In other words, Karma Puja is a very interesting way of assimilation. One might see tribe-caste interaction in Karma Puja as a process of change from the context-sensitive to the context-free (Ramamujan, 1990: 41-58). In view of this, it would be unwise to say that tribal culture is a static cultural order. In reality, the tribal people have kept adjusting their cultural systems, and at times they have also made fundamental changes in them.

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Social Control, Tradition and Transition in Lanjia Saora Society

¹ Sarat Ch Mohanty

The "Saora" or "Savar" are a great ancient tribe. They have been mentioned quite frequently in Hindu mythology and ancient classics, epics, purans and various other scriptures. Especially in Orissa, they have been very intimately associated with the cult of Lord Jagannath, who according to a legendary tradition originated as a tribal deity and was later brought to Puri under royal patronage.

The tribe is called by various names, such as Saurs, Sabara, Sahar, Saur, Sora etc. and have their racial affinity with the Proto-Austroloid stock which is dominant among the tribal communities of Central and Southern India. They are widely found all over the Central India comprising the States of Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. They speak an ancient Mundari language of their own, called Sora.

The Saora constitute one of the sixty-two Scheduled Tribes of Orissa. They are found in almost all the districts of the State. But their main concentration lies in a contiguous mountainous territory forming a major part of the agency tracts of the Eastern Ghats in Rayagada and Gajapati districts of Southern Orissa which can be called, the "Saora country".

Numerically, they constitute the third largest tribe in Orissa. Their total population in the State, as per 1981 census is 3,70,061 which accounts for 6.26 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. They have registered a decadal growth rate of 8 per cent between 1971 and 1981. Their sex ratio comes to 1,030 females per 1,000 males showing numerical superiority of their women over men. They are socially, economically and educationally backward. Their percentage of literacy as recorded in 1981 census is only 14.47 percent.

The Saora tribe is divided into a number of subtribes, such as Kapu, Jaci, Sudho, Jadu, Java

Asi, Luas, or Muli, Kindal, Kumbe, Basu, Lanjia etc. The "Lanjia Saora" who are called the "Hill-Saora" by some noted ethnographers like Verrier Elwin, constitute a primitive section of the tribe. They inhabit in "Saora country" in Southern Orissa described above. They are famous for their expertise in terrace cultivation shifting cultivation, elaborately religious lifestyle, artistic skills for producing beautiful wall paintings, pictograms, popularly known as icons and their peculiar traditional male dress-style in which the ends of the loin cloth hang like a tail at the back. The term "Lanjia" meaning "having a tail" has been bestowed upon them by their neighbours referring to the fashion of wearing long-tailed loin cloth by their male folk.

Many prominent authorities like, Thurston, Dalton, Campbell, Macpherson, Russell, Taylor, Cunningham, Fawcett, Risley, Ramamurti, Sitapati Pandu, Munro, Singh, Elwin have written about the Lanjia Saora. The most vivid account of the tribe has been given by Verrier Elwin in his famous book "Religion of an Indian Tribe" in which, he has described their complex and elaborate magico-religious beliefs and Practices—that has made the tribe known all over the world.

Like their magico-religious life, dress-style, artistic and terrace cultivation skills, another important feature is their keenness to maintain their group solidarity and preserve their cultural identity adhering to the ethics, values, mores, customs and traditions which are unique. In this respect the Lanjia Saora are well-organised group. They understand the essentials of moral law. They have their own conceptions of right and wrong, good and bad. Their inter personal relations are governed by fixed status and well-defined customs which are applicable to all aspects of human social life. Their traditional society is mostly governed by their customary law corroborated by ethical norms and public opinion. The ethical precepts and norms are

transmitted from generation to generation through the informal process of socialisation. They are well aware of the fact that the survival of the individual as well as the whole social group depends on an orderly social life through proper observance of social norms and customs.

Verrier Elwin wrote "the ethical codification is of external actions rather than the virtues and dispositions; it is not burdensome, but exact, not hasty but meticulous and though it is unwritten, and in a way untaught, it is known to every child. It defines the limit within which one should walk and so long as these limits are observed, it is an insurance against ghastly evils. These conditions, . . . sometimes lead to a self-conscious scrupulosity, sometimes to an irritating assumption of complacency, but on the whole they help the Saora to live well". (1955: 570-71)

The most important factor fortensuring social conformity is the fear of religion. Religion forms an indispensable part of Saora life. The fear of supernatural punishment acts as a powerful deterrent against violation of established customs. The only remedy in case of violation is the speedy expiation of the sin and the propitiation of the slighted deity or spirit. "Punishment by the Gods is a more serious matter. All the Gods punish any diversion from the formalist path of safety; the breach of a taboo leads to almost immediate, and certainly automatic, retribution. But the greater Gods such as 'Uyungum' and 'Daramma-sum' are said to punish men for 'Sin' (Elwin 1955).

According to Sing (1984:3) "Supernatural sanctions operate the machinery of social control and play a significant part in promoting conformity with accepted moral standards of the contemporary (Saora) society. Failure to comply with the ethos and value system arouse the wrath of superhuman beings and create conditions for divine punishments during the life-time of the culprits."

The Saoras have developed their own concepts to distinguish between "offences" and "sins". The former affects the human being and the latter offends the supernaturals. They have two terms to present this dichotomy-such as "Ukka" (Social offence) and "Eri" (sins). For example, while breach of the incest taboo is a dreaded sin, other kinds of sexual offences are only crimes, not "sins".

The implications of violation of "Ukka" is confined to human and social level and it rarely invokes supernatural sanctions. It is not as dangerous as the breach of "Eri" which provokes the anger of the supernaturals. While "Ukka" relates to a man's conduct as expected by his fellowmen, "Eri" refers to his conduct as desired by the Gods and spirits. A man breaching "Ukka" may get away with some social punishment but there is no appeal against the supernatural punishment that follows the breach of "Eri" which not only affects the "sinner" but also the whole village. The only remedy is through elaborate and expensive diagnostic and propitiatory rituals to identify and appease the concerned Gods and spirits. Therefore, when a serious sin is committed by a Saora, the whole village rise in unison to take corrective measures to ward off calamities.

Elwin observed, that when a Saora breaches an "Eri", "and directly he realises that what he has done, he takes action to put things right. This involves confession, in many cases to a Shaman, and in all cases to the spirit whom he has offended. Sometimes a man does not realise that he has broken a taboo until he falls ill and begins to wonder why; more often he does realise it, and this realisation makes him actually ill. " (1955: 512) Similar views are also held by Aldrich who said "the breaking of a convention, . . . is a very serious thing to the primitive mind; his ideas of right and wrong are clearcut and immutable, white is white and black is black with him; there are no delicate shades of grey between them, as with the civilised. He lives under a code of morals, . . . to know that he has broken a commandment puts him at once in a State of terror; it splits him physically; and he naturally flies to the priest to unburden himself of his guilt. With these ideas firmly fixed in his mind, I have no doubt whatever that he really feels physically ill under the weight of guilty secret, and that he recovers when the burden of sin is removed " (1931:220). The Linja Saora fits into this description.

The general nature of Saora religion is one of among the forces that ensures a good orderly social life. Saora religion may aim not aim at making people better, and supposedly rewards or punishes good or bad conduct, and it provides the natural atmosphere in which good human qualities are nourished. The general manner as to how men should behave towards the Gods, also emphasises that they should behave towards

their fellowmen in similar manner. It is dangerous to show proud and bad behaviour before the Gods, because humility is the most ideal of human virtues. The stress of duty, the importance of hard-work, understanding ones own responsibility, the charm of hospitality, the need to avoid violence and lies, the priority of community over the individual—these things are imperative as per the norms of their religion and the community expects every one to adhere to these values.

The way in which the Saora society exerts its discipline is by the pressure of public opinion, expressed in every possible way, and always. As this opinion is inexorable, it does not ask the people to be religious but it insists that they should conform to the rules of "Ersi" and "Ukka". There is no sympathy for the person who breaches them and thereby suffers from supernatural punishments. Human penalties are inflicted by the traditional tribal council for violation of customs of "Ukka". But the most dreaded penalty of ostracism or social excommunication which is inflicted with devastating effect by the tribal leadership and councils in other communities is rarely resorted to by the Saora leaders.

The proper observance of a taboo or sacrifice is expected to be rewarded with good health, good harvest, well-being and general prosperity. Elwin wrote, "Ultimately, a good life is to be lived for its own sake, for it is the way of happiness . . . because it is the only kind of life that agrees with his religion and because it brings peace and welfare to the community, respect and honour to the individual" (1955: 574).

Saora Society expects everyman to be a *Bangamara* (Good man) rather than a *Rankamara* (Bad man).

Since the remote past, the Lanja Saora lived undisturbed in their remote hill habitat. In modern times, the rapid changes in administrative set-up, political climate of the country, economic system and religious ideologies, development, administration and their exposure to the external modern world have influenced the Saora way of life. For example, abolition of intermediary system has set the Saora free from the clutches of the oppressive feudal over lords and their unscrupulous subordinates and this has contributed to the modernisation of their political organisation. Many outsiders have

infiltrated into the Saora country as soon as it was opened up with the development of road communications, market centres and establishment of Government and non-Government agencies and have started exploiting the natives. Often, in the past when the situation became unbearable, the Saora rose in revolt in what are called "Fituri" but the British authorities suppressed them with an iron hand. The discontentment and frustration among the Saora grew in the absence of strong internal leadership and sympathetic attitude of the feudal chiefs and foreign rulers.

After independence, the welfare Government took a very benevolent attitude towards improving the lot of the downtrodden tribal people of this country including the Saoras. Various welfare measures initiated by the Government resulted in exposing the Saora more and more to outside contact and pressures of ever-advancing and powerful, social, economic and political forces. The impact of the political change, election system, adult franchise and local self-Government have triggered off various political processes and generated new leadership among them. The modern leadership, the associated aspects of political participation and specialisation which are new to them, have been emerging as manifestations of the socio-political change.

The Saora are passing through a phase of transition. Three centuries ago they passed from autonomy and self-sufficiency to subjugation of feudal chiefs and foreign administrators. Prior to that they were more or less independent and their allegiance to the Kings and Zamindars were marginal and nominal. At that time the traditional village leaders, Gomango, Mandal, Dalabera, Buva, Barik and the like were running the village administration with the backing of the village Council. This indigenous socio-political systems had received the recognition from the then Kings and Zamindars whose policy was to collect revenue, customary gifts and labour from the tribals and not to interfere with their traditional life style.

"With the coming into being of *Muthas*, the Bissoyi overlords intervened between the Gomangos, Mandals, etc., and the Zamindar. Following the descent of peace in the area after 1834, the character of the Bissoyis and the *Pato* described as "wardens of the marches" anciently established in a species of feudal tenure, underwent gradual change into landed aristocracy consisting of intermediaries between

the Government and the Saora. They occupied this position for nearly a century. They were more than mere intermediaries. They exercised the powers of the Zamindar, the magistracy and revenue collecting agency. Equally important was their informal standing among the Saora who were almost totally devoid of contact with the outside world; the Saora got used to looking up to the Mutha-heads for leadership in intra-village disputes, arbitration in land matters, etc." (Singh, 1984: 180).

During British occupation, the feudal chiefs and the British Government were more concerned with revenue matters, law and order problems, civil and criminal disputes than with the traditional needs of the Saora. Soon after Independence, the intermediary system was abolished and Panchayat Raj system was introduced. The Saora as the citizens of free India have been made to participate in the democratic system through elections. This new system in its early phases has marginal impact on the Saora. The people who still have loyalty to their traditional village leaders choose in many places their Gomango, Mandal or Dalabehra as elected representative to Grampanchayat and other elective bodies. For instance, the Puttasingh, Parli and Sagada Grama Panchayats were headed by Saora Sarpanchs who were traditional village chiefs. Late Sridhar Gomango, the powerful chief of Sagada continued as Sagada Sarpanch for a pretty long time. After his death two of his christianised fellowmen Mansi Raika and Ansu Raika became the Sarpanch and Naib Sarpanch of Sagada Grama Panchayat respectively.

However, due to spread of education, activities of social workers and missionaries, development programmes and exposure to external world, a new kind of modern leadership is emerging gradually these days. The indigenous village leadership and council of elders are losing their importance. The Panchayat Raj institutions and community development programmes requiring awareness and capabilities of a different order have started throwing of emergent leadership which has yet to gather momentum. But there are still the traditional leaders and their successors who have switched over to take up new roles.

Singh, who made an elaborate study of Saora leadership observed, "..... the village Councils with the Gomango and the Mandal as the secular heads, the Bui a, Disari as the religious functionaries, never went out of existence. But in the meantime, new far-

reaching changes have been ushered in. Statutory Grama Panchayats and Panchayati Raj institutions have made their appearance. While village Councils linger, the Grama Panchayats have made a dent into the prestige and status of the traditional leaders. Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis having become the new recipient of power and resources, the sphere of activity of village Councils has undergone shrinkage. Some traditional leaders, unable to reorient themselves and confined to village Councils, are fading out. Some others, particularly the younger, not set in a rigid mould, have exhibited adaptability, and been taking to the new institutions. There are signs of emergence of Saora leadership at the Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti levels". (1984: 185).

Against the onslaught of modernisation in terms of coming of Christianity, better means of communication, culture contact, education, introduction of formal system of dispensation of justice and acculturation, the Saora apparently remained clear with their traditional conduct rules in private and public behaviour. The patrilineal ethos of their social organisation had certain inherent characteristics which helped them to retain its originality. There are specific peculiarities of the Saora customs like the supernatural sanctions, strong public opinion, the concept of 'Erai' and 'Ukkal', etc., which helps maintain law, order and discipline within the society. Each Saora individual is aware of the other's rights and privileges and thus does not like to infringe rights of others. Secondly individuality of a Saora is not considered separately from the background of his family, extended family or Birinda which thrusts the responsibility of maintenance of discipline among each and every family member. The Saora customary law is self-regulatory in the sense that a Saora considers that to insult a fellow being, to show disrespect or dishonour to others amounts to causing offence towards supernatural powers which may bring disastrous consequence.

The indigenous legal system of the Saora is simple, informal and effective. Whereas the modern legal system which is truly based on evidence and lengthy and complicated procedures does not take into consideration any human factors in life. A rapist or murderer may be punished by imprisonment or may get away with his crime under the 'benefit of doubt' for lack of strong evidence but there is no consideration about compensating or rehabilitating the

victim or their dependent family members. In stark contrast, the Saora customary law assesses the extent of loss and damage inflicted upon the victim, his family, his social status, his economic status, his ritual status and his community as well. The punishment given to the offender mainly by imposing fines serves two purposes. Firstly, it is a punishment bringing disgrace, social ridicule, and economic hardship to the offender. Secondly, the fines collected from the offender is paid to the victim or his relatives in part as compensation and the remaining part is spent for holding communal feast which conveys the approval of the community to this act and strengthens group solidarity.

The tribal council makes arrangement for the marriage of an unwed Saora mother with her lover or any one who is willing to marry her while punishing her lover. Sex and pregnancy are taken as quite natural human phenomena and no stigma is attached to it if it is not incestuous. In their small and simple society where every body intimately knows about his neighbours and kinsfolk, there is no scope to hide an offence and so, the word of mouth is taken as truth and evidence. In this highly personalised system, corrective actions and dispensation of law and justice following an act of a breach of norm is very quick and efficient. On the otherhand, in the modern legal system the word of mouth never holds true in the court of law and there is no consideration for compensating or rehabilitating the victim or his dependents. No provisions are made for the marriage of an unwed mother or rape victim.

Yet the Saoras have been subjected to both kinds of contrasting legal systems that exist side by side in contemporary India since the British Raj. The people are availing the best and worst out of both the systems. Elwin wrote, "Another force, even harder to assess, yet of the first importance, is the influence of the reign of law and ordered Government. The Saoras have now lived for well over a hundred years under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, and there can be no doubt that it has gradually,

imperceptibly moulded their ideals as well as controlled their actions. Previously, they were unabashed cattle thieves, plunderers and murderers and they had no hesitation about their deeds of theft and violence. Today they are restrained from them, not only by the fear of punishment and the existence of superior force, but because they have been subjected for a very long time to the quietly persuasive education of the working of the law. Whatever defects there may be in practice, every police investigation, every trial before the Courts, is an education in certain aspects of the moral life, and it has certainly had its effect upon the Saora conscience" (1955 : 569)

However, their humanistic and compassionate customary system of law and justice are pushed back by the modern system, the elites and individuals belonging to the Saora and Non-Saora societies should be made to realise the importance of this traditional and indigenous system which is suited to their way of life unlike the modern jurisprudence which still remains complex and formidable even to the educated mass. "The prime distinction between the two being that the latter stigmatises a person in the society if he has gone through the entire system of jurisprudence, ultimately alienating the individual, whereas, the traditional Councils make all efforts to re-establish the person who has wronged. Since our Constitution gives provision for upkeep of our personal law, it will be a good exercise to delve into and assess the respective legal system." (Roy, 1990 : 149)

The ethical system of the Lanja Saora attains its growth and maturity within the limits of the tribe. Discipline and conformity reinforces the rule of external law commanding the Saoras ungrudging loyalty. The problem of social discipline articulated to its three subordinate problems of institutionalism, formalism and rigorism is fundamental to their ethical system. This originality and uniqueness of their culture has got to be preserved and promoted while initiating planned changes.

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BOOK REVIEW

Harijans in Hindu and Tribal Social Structures

Dr. P. K. Mishra, 1992

Discovery Publish House

4594/9, DARYA GANJ, New Delhi-110002

PP. XIV+400 33 Tables, Figures, Appendix, Bibliography and Index

The book under review presents altogether new analytical and interpretive dimensions of looking at Harijans in mutually exclusive and contrastive social structures represented by the caste Hindus and tribal people. The erstwhile stigma of untouchability, its roots and prop, structure—functional manifestations, issues and implications, ramifications in static/dynamic configurations is not uniform. The vectors of the stigmavery considerably in two social structures. The discrimination, disability, disadvantages arising out of the stigma also reveal two different paradigms. In his anthropological analysis the author has very objectively and profitably touched an extremely sensitive issue synchronically with possible historical depth. The book with six chapters including the introduction and conclusion covers the methodological perspective, background of two villages under study, social structure and deep structural props.

The chapter on methodological perspective which includes the conceptual framework concerning social inequality and social status, although brief, is crystal clear. The chapter further elucidates the problem formulation, study design and literature on earlier studies in the line.

The study is based on two villages, one situated in the coastal eastern district and the other in the inland western district of Orissa and the purpose is to observe contrastive features in two distinct social structures. The ethnoecological settings of two villages have been analysed in consonance with the central theme of the study. The chapter on the social structure of villages under study discusses such significant aspects as purity/pollution, relative discrimination, village social structure, pattern of interaction among various ethnic groups etc. The analysis of commensality is vivid and scientific. The transactional model building for depicting the commensality has enthused the author to develop comparative paradigm of the caste and tribal groups of two villages and most appropriately "ranking approach (Freed 1963 : 881) along with the social values relating to traditional structural relationships of the constituent groups" has been applied. Besides matrices, the tabular presentation of commensal hierarchy in both villages makes the study more significant. In addition to commensality, connubility has been analysed intensively. Further, the transaction of ritual services a criterion of caste ranking has been employed in the study. The write up on practice of untouchability is typically descriptive and it lacks the intensity and dimension of its practice.

The Pasa of coastal district and the Ganda of inland district of Orissa State, both in the web of inequality of status syndrome, exhibit two mutually exclusive situations. A juxtaposition of the two ethnic groups decisively pinpoints differences in the degree of traditional ascriptive status consideration, of social discrimination, of rights and obligations and of social actions, latent and manifest. The principal objectives of study envisaged in the beginning have been meticulously and duly pursued through the micro-level approach followed by the author who has nicely defended his stand. In view of the relatively high correlation between ascriptive ritual status and achieved secular status, like economic standing, political power and authority, educational achievement, etc, Barth's "ecstasis summation" exercise would have been logistically more spectacular and appropriate. The author's painstaking endeavour through indepth analysis in the context of changing process of stratification and status differentiation is commendable. The study is extremely significant in the context of protective discrimination and planned development intervention for the erstwhile untouchables as a whole.

K. K. MOHANTI

Director

S.C. & S. T. R. & T. I.

Editor, Adivasi

BOOK REVIEW

Emerging pattern of Leadership in Tribal India

Dr. Pravakar Das. 1994

Manak Publications Pvt. Ltd.

A-31, 4C, Shastri Marg, Maujpur, Delhi-110053

PP. XVI-237, Price—Rs. 195/-

The book contains 7 Chapters including the introduction and concluding observations, while studying the emerging pattern of leadership in tribal India the author has taken one district i.e., Mayurbhanj in Orissa State. The objectives of the study outlined in the text appear to be very appropriate and the study touches one of the significant and vital dimensions of Political sociology of our country in general and tribal societies in particular. The sample includes three categories of leaders—formal, office-bearers and informal. While analysing the socio-cultural dynamics of Mayurbhanja district the author has delineated the Geophysical setting, historical account, demographic aspects, ethnic composition of population, general administration, organisation of political parties and the like. The discourse on the Panchayat Raj in Orissa provides basic information on the system and its institutionalised frame. The chapter on "Profile of Leadership" is interesting and data-based. While unravelling opinions and attitudes of leaders in the universe two-point or three-point scale has been employed. For the elimination of bias and for objectivity an appropriate scale is necessary and in this context, there should have been application of statistical methods in interpreting the data. The sub-chapter containing "values and leaders" is not backed by the methodological perspective of the study of value-orientations. The section on various issues and problems of leadership is a commendable contribution to our existing knowledge. The significant aspects, such as relationship between political leaders and officials, their role performance in consonance with their respective rolesectors, their roles in the contextual frame of tradition and modernity etc., have been highlighted. The connected issues and problems have been studied empirically. Further, the decision-making process has been analysed with reference to reciprocal role-Perception and role performance. The final chapter contains concluding observations of the author. Out of his research findings he is of the opinion that non-tribal people still enjoy precedence over tribal people in matters of leadership although there is preponderance of tribal population in the district under study. The fact proves beyond doubt that even after more than four decades of independence, the tribal leadership has not made the expected. Another significant finding in this regard is that "middle-aged people with agrarian background and belonging to lower and middle income groups are emerging as leaders". The author feels that both the leaders and officials are not happy about their respective role performance. The study, further, suggests that there is necessity of revitalisation of the Panchayat institutions with 'participatory democracy' and 'participatory administration'.

The study is a significant addition to our existing knowledge in the political sociology in general and tribal leadership pattern in particular.

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THE STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND PARTICULARS ABOUT THE NEWSPAPER
ENTITLED ADIVASI AS REQUIRED TO BE PUBLISHED UNDER RULE 8 OF THE
REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPER (CENTRAL) RULE, 1956

FORM IV

<i>Place of publication</i>	.. Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research & Training Institute, Bhubaneswar-3, District-Khurda.
<i>Periodicity of the publications</i>	.. Half-yearly
<i>Printer's name</i>	.. Director, Printing, Stationery and Publication, Orissa, Cuttack.
<i>Nationality</i>	.. Indian
<i>Address</i>	.. Madhupatna, Cuttack-10
<i>Publisher's name</i>	.. Director of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research & Training Institute, Government of Orissa.
<i>Nationality</i>	.. Indian
<i>Address</i>	.. Bhubaneswar-3
<i>Editor's name</i>	.. Professor, K. K. Mohanti, Director, Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribes Research & Training Institute, Bhubaneswar-751003.
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<i>Address</i>	.. Bhubaneswar, Orissa (India), Pin-751003.